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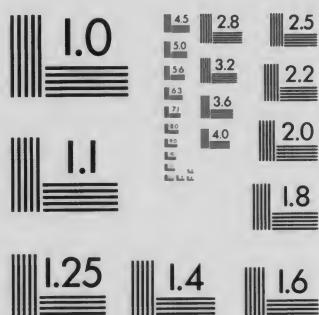
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# SOLILOQUY IN ANCIENT COMEDY

BY

JOHN DEAN BICKFORD

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF PRINCETON  
UNIVERSITY IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR  
PRINCETON, N. J.

*With the author's comp[arison]*

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SINE QUO FORSITAN NE HOC TANTULUM  
QUIDEM OPUS CONFECTUM ESSET

PREFACE.

The purpose of this study was to investigate a particular topic in ancient comedy, of perhaps some intrinsic interest, and to draw from this investigation whatever conclusions it seemed possible to reach as to the development of comedy, and to some extent of drama as a whole, among the Greeks and Romans.

For suggesting the topic and for continual aid and encouragement in the work the author acknowledges his obligation to Prof. Frank Frost Abbott, and for several valuable suggestions expresses his thanks also to Prof. Edward Capps, both of Princeton University.

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Sophocles	Dindorf	"	1887
Euripides	Nauck	"	1895

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Introduction . . . . .	I
I. The Types of Soliloquy . . . . .	3
II. The Function of the Soliloquy in the Structure . . . . .	16
III. The Relation between Latin and New Greek Comedy in Respect to Soliloquy . . . . .	19
IV. The Relation between the Chorus and the Soliloquy . . . . .	28
V. The Causes of the Development of the Structurally Useful Soliloquy . . . . .	35
VI. The Causes of the Development of the Structurally Useless Soliloquy . . . . .	42
VII. Outside Influences on the Development of Soliloquy . . . . .	48
VIII. The Relation between Soliloquy and Meter . . . . .	51
Appendix . . . . .	53

## THE SOLILOQUY IN ANCIENT COMEDY

### INTRODUCTION.

The natural starting-point for any study of ancient comedy as a whole lies in the plays of Plautus. They constitute the largest extant group of complete Greek or Latin comedies, and they are the only large group representing New Comedy, around which, as the culmination of the development of Greek comedy, and in some sense of the entire Greek drama, and as that type of ancient comedy that has influenced modern drama most largely, our interest naturally centers. Especially for the subject of this study, moreover, it will soon appear that we are right in beginning with Plautus rather than with Aristophanes, and in general, so far as concerns the development of soliloquy, in working backward rather than forward.

We shall have to consider four main topics: first, the types of soliloquy; second, the function of the soliloquy in the structure of the plays; third, the relation of the soliloquy in Roman comedy to the soliloquy in new Greek comedy. For the first topic the evidence of Menander and the comic fragments is perhaps sufficient for Greek comedy, but for the second it is not. So long as we have not extant a considerable number of plays of New Comedy complete, the evidence of the extant parts of Menander's *'Επιτρέποντες*, *Περικειρομένη* and *Σαρία*, valuable though it is, is yet inadequate enough to need confirmation by argument and demonstration from Latin comedy. This last topic, finally, will lead naturally to a fourth, *i.e.*, the causes of the development of soliloquy in Greek comedy from Old to New.

There is one preliminary question of importance to be answered: just what is here meant by soliloquy? In the first place, a soliloquy must be spoken by a character in the play: by this criterion the ordinary prologue (*e.g.*, of the *Captivi*) is excluded, likewise the prologue by a divinity (*e.g.*, of the *Aulularia* and *Cistellaria*), while the prologues of the *Mercator* and the *Miles*

are included. In the second place, a soliloquy must be spoken by a character who either believes himself to be alone on the stage, or deliberately ignores the presence of other characters. The introduction of this second variety of soliloquy into comedy can be traced back to the dramatic necessity in tragedy of representing a character as occasionally speaking in disregard of the presence of the chorus. There, however, the dramatic resemblance ceases, for in comedy the soliloquy, whether, as occasionally, it be addressed by the character directly to himself, as in *Trin.* 1008-1023, or specifically to the audience, as in *Stich.* 673-682, or whether, as most commonly, it be left without definite address, is in reality always spoken for the benefit of the audience. (But here we are anticipating.) Even this second criterion proves in practice impossible always to apply strictly, for there are some clear cases of soliloquy where the speaker ignores, not the presence of another character, who may even be made the subject of his soliloquy, but only the possibility of entering into conversation with him.<sup>1</sup> The exact opposite of the soliloquy spoken by a character aware of another's presence is found in the aside, which specifically recognizes the other's presence and, while indeed no part of the dialogue itself, not only does not ignore the possibility of conversation but usually leads directly to a dialogue following. So, for example, Sosia's soliloquy in *Amph.* 153 ff ends at line 292, where he discovers Mercury's presence, although neither speaks to the other until line 341. Between many soliloquies and many speeches in dialogue addressed to a mere interlocutor there is of course no essential difference. But there is a technical difference, and, if only to fix some limit for this study, it seemed best to insist upon this distinction, especially since to take dialogues of this sort into consideration would add nothing whatever to the validity or variety of our conclusions.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., *Plaut. Amph.* 1005-1008, *Menander 'Eπιτ.* 359 ff.

### I. THE TYPES OF SOLILOQUY.

By classification of soliloquies according to type we mean classification according to content. There are, first, two soliloquies that take the place of the technical prologue, *Merc.* 1-110, spoken by *adulescens* Charinus, and *Mil.* 79-155, spoken by the slave Palaestrio; the latter differs scarcely at all, save in position, from the ordinary prologue, the former only in that it combines with the technical prologue a monologue in character. The consideration of these two soliloquies properly belongs, however, to the subject of the Plautine prologue; they are amply discussed by Leo<sup>2</sup> and we shall have occasion to say little more about them. The scanty remains of Menander furnish no parallel for such a prologue by a character, although the monologue by *Αγνοια* in *Περικ.* 1-51 corresponds to *Mil.* 79-155 in position, and still more closely to the speech of *Auxilium* in *Cist.* 149 ff.

In the second place, soliloquies are often used in the *πρόλογος*<sup>3</sup> for exposition: so, for example, the long soliloquies spoken by a slave in *Amph.* 153-292, by *lena* in *Cist.* 120-148, by *mulier* in *Rud.* 185-219, by *adulescens* in *Truc.* 22-94. This type again is fully treated by Leo<sup>4</sup> and will require little further space in the present discussion. The only example of this type of soliloquy to be found in Menander is the fragment of the *Γεωργός*; the beginnings of all the other plays except the *Hero* are lost,<sup>5</sup> while the extant fragment of the *πρόλογος* of that play consists entirely of dialogue, in which one character is a *πρόσωπον προτακτικόν*.

Thirdly, the soliloquy is similarly used for exposition—what we may better call development or explanation of the plot—

<sup>2</sup> *Plautinische Forschungen* (Berlin, 1895), pp. 194 ff.

<sup>3</sup> We use throughout the Greek word to denote the prologue in the Greek sense, reserving the term *prologue* for the technical prologue as in Latin comedy. In this sense it corresponds to the term *exposition* as used of Latin comedy or modern drama. Leo uses *der Prolog* in both senses, but chiefly in this latter sense; see *Plaut. Forsch.* pp. 171 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Plaut. Forsch.* pp. 176 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See footnote 70.

throughout the play. Men. 446 ff helps to get the action under way by revealing to the audience how the parasite lost track of his proper Menaechmus; Cas. 759 ff helps to keep it moving by revealing how the slave Chalinus is being rigged up in the house by the women to pose as Olympio's bride; Amph. 1053 ff assists the dénouement by revealing the confusion of identity between Jupiter and Amphitruo. Similar examples are to be found in Menander at the beginning of the action and in the development.<sup>6</sup> Such soliloquies usually recount action recently past, as in the examples just mentioned from the *Menaechmi* and the *Amphitruo*, but may also serve to make clear contemporaneous action, as in the example from the *Casina*. The relation between soliloquies of this type and the narratives of the messengers in tragedy is plain enough; it is well illustrated by Sceparnio's running commentary on the struggles of the ship-wrecked women in Rud. 162 ff, which is neither a conventional narrative, dealing as it does with contemporaneous action, nor a conventional soliloquy, being dramatically motivated as a report to Daemones, who is standing by.

In the fourth place, there is a type that may be called the soliloquy of announcement. It is much like the soliloquy of development, except that it is designed to make clear not what has happened or is happening off stage, but what is about to happen, whether off stage, as in the case of Rud. 440 ff,<sup>7</sup> or on stage, as in the case of Mercury's announcement in Amph. 463 ff and Jupiter's id. 861 ff. Both these last are good examples of the commonest kind of announcements, those especially necessitated by confusions of identity in the plot that contribute towards the *ἀναγνώσις*. Sometimes, on the contrary, such a soliloquy merely indicates in general the course that the character is going to pursue, as when Diniarchus in Truc. 434 ff declares his intention to remain faithful to his faithless mistress. The only

<sup>6</sup> E.g., *Σαμ.* 1-64 and *Περικ.* 276 ff; *Σαμ.* 204 ff respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Lines 442-453 announce that Labrax and Charmides have reached land, lines 454-457 that the two women will take refuge at the altar within before they can reach the temple. At line 485 Labrax and Charmides enter and hold the stage until line 558, when Sceparnio enters with a short soliloquy of development (559-562) to show that the action announced in lines 454-457 has been carried out.

examples of this type from Menander<sup>8</sup> indeed both verge on the soliloquy of deliberation, for not only is the announcement in both general and somewhat vague, but in neither case is the course of action suggested actually carried out.<sup>9</sup>

The fifth type is the soliloquy of mere comment, which somewhat resembles the third type, but differs in that it deals either with action on stage that already is or is becoming perfectly plain without it, or with action off stage that has already been made plain by some other means. It is numerically the commonest type.<sup>10</sup> It is important to distinguish this from the third type. To take as an example the soliloquy in Capt. 516 ff: in lines 516-517 Tyndarus remarks that he is in a bad situation, in lines 518-526 that he sees no hope of escaping from it, all of which we know without his telling us; in lines 527-528 he tells us, what we already know from Hegio's remark in lines 509 ff, that Aristophontes is sure to recognize him as an impostor, while in lines 529-531 he again bewails his wretched plight. Plainly, the action is not in the least advanced by such a soliloquy, as it is by soliloquies of exposition, nor do we learn anything new about what is going to happen, as we do from soliloquies of announcement. An extreme example of this type of soliloquy occurs in Mil. 200-215, where Periplectomenus says in line 200 *ego hinc abscessero abs te huc interim*, and then, turning, with *illuc sis vide*, to the audience, describes Palaestrio's actions during his mental gestation: it is clear that Palaestrio does not even withdraw into the *angīportus*, and that most if not all of the action to which Periplectomenus calls attention must have been already plain to the audience.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Σαμ.* 271 ff and 'Επιτ. 522 ff.

<sup>9</sup> In the case of *Σαμ.* 271 ff Moschion's plan to pretend flight seems to be forestalled, at least so far as we can tell from the extant part of the play that follows his soliloquy. Likewise in the scene in the 'Επιτρέποντες (582 ff) where Smicrines finally confronts Sophrona, there is no indication that the threats he has uttered against her in his soliloquy in 522 ff are actually carried out.

<sup>10</sup> Characteristic examples are Capt. 516 ff and Truc. 553 ff by a slave, Cas. 937 ff by *senex*, and from Menander 'Επιτ. 340 ff by a slave and id. 487 ff by *adulescens*.

<sup>11</sup> We shall have occasion to refer especially to this soliloquy below (p. 37).

The sixth type, the soliloquy of deliberation, likewise resembles the fourth, except that it does not announce but merely considers what course of action is to be followed. The sentiment with which Epidicus ends his soliloquy in *Epid.* 100 is characteristic of all soliloquies of this type: *aliquid aliqua reperiundumst*. We have remarked how easily the soliloquy of announcement may verge upon deliberation, and it is easy to see how *vice versa* the soliloquy of deliberation, ending, as naturally it often does, with some decision, may merge into announcement; in such cases the question is whether the greater emphasis falls on the reaching of the decision or on the decision reached.<sup>12</sup> Such soliloquies in Plautus are most commonly used by the intriguing slave,<sup>13</sup> but sometimes also by other characters, e.g., by *senex* in *Merc.* 328 ff, and in Menander still more commonly.<sup>14</sup>

In the seventh place, a few soliloquies are used primarily for characterization. They are rare, even as characterization in New Comedy is rare, beyond the broad characterization of types. Perhaps the best examples in Plautus are two soliloquies of Alcumena in the *Amphitruo* and three of Euclio in the *Aulularia*.<sup>15</sup> It is hardly necessary to remark that any soliloquy that is dramatically well motivated will probably contribute at least something to the characterization of the speaker. Most of the soliloquies in Plautus, as we shall see, are not well motivated, but it is usually in such as are so motivated that we find elements of characterization, sometimes only implicit, sometimes more explicit but still so interfused with other elements that the soliloquy can not be regarded as solely or even mainly intended for characterization. Indeed, beyond the examples just given it is impossible to specify any such soliloquies in Plautus, and even of these there is a considerable element of moralizing comment in *Amph.* 633 ff and of comedy in *Aul.* 371 ff and 466 ff. All these, it is interesting to observe, are drawn from two of the

<sup>12</sup> E.g., the soliloquy in *Mil.* 259 ff, which is clearly deliberation, ends thus (267-268):

res paratast, vi pugnandoque hominem caperest certa res;  
si ita non reperio, ibo. . . .

<sup>13</sup> E.g., *Asin.* 249 ff, *Epid.* 81 ff, *Mil.* 259 ff.

<sup>14</sup> E.g., *Περικ.* 121 ff and *Σαμ.* 337 ff by *adulescens*, *Σαμ.* 110 ff by *senex*.

<sup>15</sup> *Amph.* 633 ff, 882 ff; *Aul.* 105 ff, 371 ff, 460 ff.

best plays; they are all excellent far beyond the average soliloquy, and usually in tone far above the common level of Plautus's plays.<sup>16</sup> As for Menander, of the two long soliloquies that contribute most to the characterization of the speaker, one (*Σαμ.* 110 ff) has already been cited as an example of deliberation, the other ('*Επιτ.* 487 ff), of comment; only the short one in *Περικ.* 110 ff can be regarded as a pure example of this type.

The eighth type is the soliloquy of pure moralizing, which is either merely a monologue on some general topic or a generalization from the particulars of some situation in the play.<sup>17</sup> For this and the next two types of soliloquy we find a considerable number of examples, as compared with other types, in the fragments of Middle<sup>18</sup> and New Comedy. This is not surprising if we recall the motives and methods of the compilers to whom we owe most of these fragments: they were looking for the topical and general more often than for the dramatic and particular. A genuine dramatic commentary such as *Aul. Gell.* II-23 on Menander's *Πλάκιον*, to which we owe the fragments of that play, is the exception; usually we have only the topical passages that an Athenaeus would find useful, or the purple patches that a Stobaeus would admire. (Just so the man who quotes Shakespeare seldom knows from what play he is quoting.) For this very reason the question naturally arises, how can we be sure that such fragments are really soliloquies at all? In fact, we can not be sure. Sometimes, indeed, a fragment contains proof that it is a soliloquy,<sup>19</sup> but just as often a fragment that otherwise

<sup>16</sup> E.g., *Amph.* 640

sola hic mi nunc videor, quia ille hinc abest quem ego amo praeter omnis.

id. 644-645

apsit, dum modo laude parta  
domum recipiat se.

id. 882-883

durare nequeo in aedibus: ita me probri  
stupro dedecoris a viro argutam meo.

<sup>17</sup> See Leo, *Der Monolog im Drama*, pp. 76-77.

<sup>18</sup> We use this term to indicate the stage in the development of comedy that must necessarily have intervened between the last two plays of Aristophanes and the perfection of New Comedy in Menander and Philemon.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., *Alexis* 186, line 1

δύως λογίσασθαι πρὸς ἔμαυτὸν βούλομαι.

*Alexis* 245, line 2

precisely resembles a soliloquy contains a vocative to prove that it is not.<sup>20</sup> However, from our exact knowledge of such soliloquies in Latin comedy, and especially from the fact that in Plautus and Terence, just as among the Greek fragments, we find the same substance continually cast now into monologue, now into dialogue, we may argue—considering the negative character of what little evidence the fragments themselves supply and the fact that in this respect the vast majority are non-committal—that for the purpose of this discussion we are fully warranted in using any fragment of this sort, provided that is not specifically excluded by its own content, as a specimen of type, whether that particular fragment was in fact a soliloquy or not.

The only point of contact—it is too much to speak of real connection—of the moralizing soliloquy with the play in which it stands is that it is usually suggested by some point in the plot or in the situation of the speaker. So Megadorus's monologue on the bad ways of rich women in Aul. 575 ff is suggested by the fact that he intends to marry a poor woman, but it might just as well have been put in the mouth of a confirmed old bachelor like Periplectomenus in the Miles or a hen-pecked husband like Demaenetus in the Asinaria, who does in fact express a similar sentiment.<sup>21</sup> The two topics discussed by Megadorus, the evil of having a dowried wife and the extravagance of such women with their money, are among the commonest subjects for moralizing in New Comedy.<sup>22</sup> There are, moreover, still more general attacks on women and marriage,<sup>23</sup> expressing the attitude of Demaenetus in the Asinaria and Demipho in the

φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπῆλθε μοι.

Philemon 79, lines 1-2  
 ὡς Ἰμερός μ' ὑπῆλθε γῆ τε κούρανφ  
 λέξαι . . .

Cf. also footnote 158.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., Apollodorus Carystius 13, line 15; Euphron 1, line 1; Posidippus 26, lines 1-2; Nicolaus, lines 1 and 26.

<sup>21</sup> Asin. 87

Argentum accepi, dote imperium vendidi.

Cf. also Epid. 180, also in dialogue.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., the former is represented by Menander 532 and Diodorus 3 and again in Plautus by Most. 702 ff, the latter by Menander 326.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., Anaxandrides 52, Alexis 146 and 262, Eubulus 116-117, Menander 154 and 535.

Mercator, but not precisely paralleled by any one soliloquy in Plautus.<sup>24</sup> Another favorite topic is love,<sup>25</sup> still another the decay of morals and regret for the good old days.<sup>26</sup> Finally, we find the purely general, almost theoretical soliloquy, which we may even term philosophical:<sup>27</sup> *carpe diem* says Plautus in Merc. 544 ff, and Antiphanes in fragment 204.<sup>28</sup>

Some moralizing soliloquies, like Most. 84 ff, are, to be sure, better motivated than the great majority that we have been discussing. The two soliloquies on the raising of children in Terence's Adelphi, 26 ff, by Micio, and 855 ff, by Demea, no matter how general, are dramatically well motivated; so is the complaint of *senex* in Men. 758 ff against old age.<sup>29</sup> Again, the slave's opportunity to moralize about duty is always furnished by the situation.<sup>30</sup> But generally there is no more motivation than there is for Hamlet's monologue to the players; playwright and audience were alike interested, and in more spacious times that was enough. The soliloquy of moralizing is put most often into the mouth of slave or of *senex*. It is also sometimes spoken by *adulescens*, as in Men. 571 ff, which is of special interest because it contains a large number of Roman social and political allusions, such as we should expect to find in soliloquies of this type adapted for Roman comedy. The soliloquies of *meretrix* in Truc. 448 ff and of her maid in 209 ff illustrate a rare variety, *i.e.*, moralizing without morals, where the motivation is better than usual and at the same time highly ironical.

A ninth type of soliloquy is used wholly, or at least mostly, for comic effect.<sup>31</sup> Naturally it is almost always assigned to the

<sup>24</sup> Except in general by Merc. 817 ff, which however represents the woman's point of view.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., Plaut. Trin. 223 ff, Alexis 245, Eubulus 41, Aristophon 11.

<sup>26</sup> E.g., Plaut. Trin. 23 ff, 1028 ff. Cf. Bacc. 419 ff for the same sentiment in dialogue.

<sup>27</sup> The philosophical soliloquy, which is far more common in Greek than in Latin comedy, may be so much more profitably considered later in another connection (Section VI) that we need here only call attention to it.

<sup>28</sup> On the general subject of what we have called moralizing, see Legrand-Loeb, *The New Greek Comedy* (London and New York, 1917), pp. 439 ff.

<sup>29</sup> For the topic cf. Antiphanes 94, Menander 552, 555.

<sup>30</sup> Aul. 587 ff, Men. 966 ff, Most. 858 ff, Pseud. 1103 ff.

<sup>31</sup> On this general subject see Legrand-Loeb, pp. 463 ff.

lower characters: so we find the roguish *puer*, the blasphemous *leno*, the bibulous *lena*, the rascally *trapezita*.<sup>32</sup> But the favorite comic characters are the cook, the parasite and the slave. The monologue of the cook is not well represented in Plautus.<sup>33</sup> To parallel his high-flown disquisitions on his art, which are fairly common in new Greek comedy,<sup>34</sup> we have in Plautus only the short speech of the cook in Aul. 398 ff and the cook's conversation with Ballio in Pseud. 803 ff, which better reproduces the content of the Greek examples, though neither is properly a soliloquy at all. We find also a humorous attack on the cooks for their slang in Strato 1, which can be paralleled only by the far more general attack of Ballio on the cook in Pseud. 790 ff, which again is not a soliloquy. The tardy cook seems also to have been a stock joke: in Merc. 697-698 *senex* in a soliloquy complains of the lateness of the cook, who finally arrives at line 741, just as in Menander's 'Επιτρέποντες the slave complains in lines 165-167 of the cook who arrives only at line 384. As for the parasite,<sup>35</sup> the nearest parallels in Plautus to the elaborate defense of his calling and exposition of his art that we find in New Comedy<sup>36</sup> are perhaps Capt. 461 ff and Pers. 53 ff. The best parallel in Latin is Ter. Eun. 232 ff, which because of the resemblance of line 238 to fragment 296 from Menander's Κόλαξ we may fairly suppose closely reproduces the original. The parasite in the Stichus refers in line 233 to Hercules as his patron, but there is no parallel for the mythological derivation of his calling that we find in Diodorus 2. By way of compensation Plautus offers the comic auction of Stich. 193 ff, for which there is no parallel in the Greek. Usually, however, he shows us merely the hungry parasite, as in Capt. 69 ff and Men. 77 ff, or the parasite dis coursing on his stomach, as in Stich. 155 ff, to which Diphilus 60

<sup>32</sup> E.g., Capt. 909 ff, Poen. 449 ff, Curc. 96 ff, id. 371 ff respectively. The banker has since risen in the drama; the best commentary on his ancient position is a fragment of Antiphanes (159), where bankers are classed with priests of Cybele and fish-sellers.

<sup>33</sup> See E. M. Ranklin, The Rôle of the *μάγειροι* in the Life of the Ancient Greeks (Diss. Chicago, 1907).

<sup>34</sup> E.g., Alexis 186, Sotades 1, Archedicus 2, Philemon 79.

<sup>35</sup> Besides the general discussion in Legrand-Loeb, see O. Ribbeck on the *κόλαξ* in Abhandlungen der sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften for 1883.

<sup>36</sup> E.g., Antiphanes 80, 144, Axionicus 6, Timocles 8.

is similar. Plautus in dealing with the parasite is generally more realistic than the Greek fragments, though even he hardly equals the stark realism of Epicharmus in the parasite's speech preserved from one of his plays.<sup>37</sup>

The chief comic character is of course the slave.<sup>38</sup> We have the drunken slave in Pseud. 1246 ff, the slave in fear of punishment in Most. 348 ff and Trin. 1008 ff and Menander 195, the slave in love (and out of luck) in Rud. 458 ff. Commonest of all comic varieties of soliloquy, however, is the monologue of the running slave, of which the best examples are Merc. 111 ff and Stich. 274 ff, burlesques of which Mercury's monologue in Amph. 984 ff is itself a burlesque.<sup>39</sup> There are also two running monologues, to call them so, for the parasite, where the parasite's part differs not at all from that of the usual slave.<sup>40</sup> This last fact suggests that comic soliloquies are also sometimes based upon situation rather than upon character. We have already noticed the motif of drunkenness applied to both slave and *lena*. So we find the appeal for help in difficulty, such as the outburst of the cook in Aul. 406 ff after being beaten and the similar outburst of Euclio id. 713 ff after being robbed. Or we might regard the latter as illustrating the motif of the search and compare it to the soliloquy of the slave in Cist. 671 ff while hunting for the lost casket.

Tenth is a distinct type of soliloquy, easier however to recognize than to name, which we may call the topical-rhetorical monologue.<sup>41</sup> The best examples are the *adulescens'* comparison of his character to a house in Most. 84 ff, the slave's comparison

<sup>37</sup> Kaibel, Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta (Berlin, 1899) 34-35, from the 'Ελπὶς η Πλοῦτος. No other fragment of Epicharmus offers any point of contact with the soliloquy in New Comedy, and none sheds any light on the precise sense in which Horace meant his well-known comment in Epist. 2, 1, 58.

<sup>38</sup> On the slave especially, but also on the parasite and the cook, see W. Suess, De personarum antiquae comoediae Atticae usu atque origine (Bonn, 1905), Part IV, and C. H. Haile, The Clown in Greek Literature after Aristophanes (Diss. Princeton, 1913), especially chapters 2 to 5.

<sup>39</sup> See C. Weissmann, De servi currentis persona apud comedios Romanos (Diss. Giessen, 1911).

<sup>40</sup> Capt. 790 ff and Curc. 280 ff.

<sup>41</sup> Soliloquies of the type to which we here refer are in reality what the ancient rhetoricians meant by *προγυμνάσματα*; see pp. 49-50.

of his exploits to the siege of Troy in Bacc. 925 ff, and the *adulescens'* trial and condemnation of Love in Trin. 223 ff, to which we might add the rather elaborate military metaphor in Pseud. 574 ff. There are no satisfactory parallels from the Greek; possibly the nearest equivalents are the comparison drawn between the *hetaerae* and the monsters of mythology in Anaxilas 1, the analysis of the character of Love in Alexis 245 and the criticism of the painting of Love in Eubulus 41.

So far we have distinguished ten different types of soliloquy. But in fact, as it is scarcely necessary to point out, many of the soliloquies are more or less mixed in kind. We have already indicated the obvious resemblance between exposition and comment and between announcement and deliberation, and remarked how such elements of true characterization as there are in Latin comedy and in New Comedy, so far at least as it is represented by Menander, are fused into soliloquies that must be differently classified. All the different classes, however, overlap in various ways. The comic element, for example, is very great in the clever rhetorical monologue in Bacc. 925 ff, and is in general, as would be expected, more often present than not in all the soliloquies. A slave, to cite another example, can not philosophize like any freeman, as he does in Trin. 1028 ff and Pseud. 679 ff, without raising a laugh: in particular the dutiful slave moralizing on his duty is invariably comic, if for no other reason because, by dramatic irony, he is seldom doing his duty while he is talking about it. Again, Pseudolus's drunken monologue in lines 1246 ff is at the same time a narrative of past events off stage, while Olympio's narrative in Cas. 875 ff is pure farce: the only reason for placing these two soliloquies in different classes, as we have done, is that the events related in the former are trivial and the comedy the only important effect aimed at,<sup>42</sup> while in the latter the events related, no matter how comic, are essential to the dénouement. Similarly, the comic appeals for help in the Aulularia, mentioned above, are also explanations of or comments on action just past; perhaps the miser's laments would not even seem funny to a modern audience, as Harpagon's do not in

<sup>42</sup> The effect of this monologue, immediately preceding the happy dénouement, is not unlike the typical *έξοδος* of Old Comedy, especially of the Acharnians.

L'Avare, nor Shylock's for his lost daughter and his lost ducats. Still again, the monologue of the running slave—or parasite—must always be related somewhat to the soliloquy of exposition or development.

On the contrary, it must not be supposed that a classification according to distinction of type, such as we have attempted, is without a sound basis. Not only are most soliloquies plainly some one thing more than any other, but there are plenty of soliloquies of pure type. A glance at Table I in the appendix will show that a majority of soliloquies are of pure type in the writer's judgment, and an examination of the passages indicated in their context in the plays will test his judgment, so that the reader will either find him right or easily prove him wrong. This table should, moreover, show clearly just what kinds of confusion are commonest, *i.e.*, those that arise from a blending of comment, moralizing and comedy with other types, especially exposition and development. That is to say, all we can pretend to do is to assign any given soliloquy to the class wherein it predominantly belongs, disregarding the minor elements, to call them so, if we wish to emphasize the unquestionable existence of the different types, but calling attention to them if we wish to emphasize the confusion of the different types in practice.

To provide, however, for certain soliloquies that will not conform to any of the ten types we have distinguished, it seems necessary to make two additional classes. First—as the eleventh type—there are some soliloquies that are so evenly blended of different elements that we can only call them mixed. So we find moralizing joined with exposition in Truc. 22 ff, elsewhere with development and comment;<sup>43</sup> likewise comedy with exposition,<sup>44</sup> and in Men. 446 ff with development. These, as we have said, are the commonest mixtures; but we find also comedy with moralizing, comment with announcement, deliberation with exposition.<sup>45</sup> The soliloquy of Gripus in Rud. 906 ff, dramatically one of the best to be found in Plautus, contains explanation (*i.e.*, development), characterization, moralizing and comic relief. Similarly the topical-rhetorical monologue that we have men-

<sup>43</sup> Poen. 823 ff, Pseud. 667 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Capt. 69 ff, Most. 348 ff.

<sup>45</sup> E.g., Trin. 1008 ff, Bacc. 500 ff, Epid. 81 ff respectively.

tioned in *Trin.* 223 ff<sup>46</sup> contains also considerable elements of deliberation and characterization. With these two the rhetorical monologue in *Most.* 84 ff might also be classified, except that there the rhetorical element predominates so decidedly that even the exposition it does contain is cast in a metaphorical form. In Menander there are two clear examples of the mixed soliloquy, '*Ἐπιτ.* 340 ff, made up of comment and characterization, and *Σαυ.* 110 ff, of characterization and deliberation.

Lastly, there are a few monologues of peculiar type, always very few of a kind, which, while deserving to be distinguished, can only be lumped together in an anomalous twelfth class. These are, first, the monologue of the *choragus* in *Curc.* 462 ff, which, while it consists entirely of comment, is general comment only, without even the slight connection that the ordinary moralizing soliloquy has with the play in which it stands; secondly, two monologues that relate dreams symbolizing the entire action of the play, both by *senes*,<sup>47</sup> thirdly, the Carthaginian speech of Hanno in *Poen.* 930 ff; finally, two soliloquies interwoven in *Merc.* 830–863, where neither *adulescens* is aware of the other's presence, a device employed also in Menander, '*Ἐπιτ.* 214–225.<sup>48</sup>

It should by now be clear in general how far the classification of soliloquies according to type and content can be carried and what its results are. It is to be hoped that it has at least been shown that clear differences in type do exist, and that at the same time many soliloquies contain minor elements of other types. It is to be hoped also that enough examples have been cited to justify the conclusions, such as they are, that have been reached; in any case more examples can easily be found with the aid of the appended Table I. As for the attempt to give exact figures for the twelve different types, the calculation depends so

<sup>46</sup> These mixed soliloquies we shall refer to as belonging to any one of the individual types of the mingling of which they are composed, if they contain any evidence which is useful for consideration of that type, as we have already done, e.g., in citing this soliloquy and in using the two mixed soliloquies in *Ter. Adel.* 26 ff and 855 ff as specimens of characterization.

<sup>47</sup> *Merc.* 225 ff and *Rud.* 593 ff.

<sup>48</sup> It is only the first three of these soliloquies that we shall need to mention again.

much on the writer's judgment that the reader may well be induced to examine for himself the numerous examples that will appear to him dubious. The table will also show the number of soliloquies of each type and the total number spoken by each type of character, and the proportion of soliloquies belonging to any one type of character to the whole number. A glance will show to how great an extent the slave, *senex* and *adulescens* predominate.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Table II, which similarly analyzes the plays of Terence, is interesting in this connection; it shows that the only considerable difference in Terence is the reversal of the relative prominence of *adulescens* and slave, which well typifies the difference in plot, style and general tone between Plautus and Terence.

## II. THE FUNCTION OF THE SOLILOQUY IN THE STRUCTURE.

By structure we mean the process of employing and adapting dramatic means to the dramatic end, *i.e.*, the development of the plot and situation to their proper conclusion. We define the sense in which we use the term in order to make plain the difference between the point of view here adopted and that of Leo in *Der Monolog im Drama*. He concerns himself chiefly with what we may call the purely internal economy of the play, irrespective of the dramatic end to be achieved, *i.e.*, with the relation of the soliloquy, as one kind of dramatic device, to other parts of the play, particularly in respect to its position. So (pp. 46 ff) he classifies soliloquies as 1, (a) *Auftrittsmonolog* (*i.e.*, the character enters on an empty stage), (b) *Zutrittsmonolog* (the character enters on a stage already occupied); 2, (a) *Abgangsmonolog* (the character leaves the stage), (b) *Uebergangsmonolog* (the character remains on the stage); and 3, "das pathetische Sprechen über die Köpfe der Anwesenden fort." It is only in regard to his third class that he considers at all what we mean by dramatic end. The sum of his argument we may perhaps profitably quote here, though at the end it somewhat anticipates our own: on page 62 he concludes "dass in der neuen Komödie von Anfang an die Monologe eine besondere Bedeutung für die theatrale Distinction der Teile gehabt haben . . . dass auch in dieser Verwendung des Monologs die junge Komödie sich unmittelbar an die späte Produktion des Euripides anlehnen könnte . . . aber . . . musste, um etwas die Technik in dieser Richtung ausbilden zu können, der Chor als *πρόσωπον* der Handlung beseitigt sein, den Euripides erst von der Bühne entfernen musste um ein Einzelspiel herbeizuführen."<sup>50</sup>

To return to our immediate subject, it need hardly be said that the criteria that we have adopted are the criteria of Plautus's

<sup>50</sup> Leo's theory is carefully criticized by C. C. Conrad in *The Technique of Continuous Action in Roman Comedy* (Diss. Chicago, 1915), especially in the introduction and in Chapter V. His final conclusions are unfavorable to Leo.

technique, not of modern technique: the question asked was not, did Plautus need to use a given soliloquy, but what use, if any, did he make of it in the structure of his play? Whether of itself the structure is good or bad—good or bad according to modern standards or even according to Plautus's own standards—makes no difference for our purpose.<sup>51</sup> Now, granted only that our classification be correct, the first four types of soliloquy we can easily recognize as at least largely essential. The other types we can as easily recognize are not essential at all. Of these the soliloquy to suggest character and the soliloquy of deliberation may be called useful though not necessary, but with possibly some few exceptions they are comparatively quite unnecessary. We do not mean that they are bad (in fact some of them are among the best of all the soliloquies), but only that in the structure they are practically useless and that by them the action is rather held up than helped along. Of the 193 soliloquies examined in Plautus, 70 (including most of the mixed type) seemed to the writer necessary, 9 useful, 114 not useful. It therefore appears that there is both an extraordinary reliance on soliloquies to develop the structure and a still more extraordinary number of soliloquies unnecessary for the structure. Extreme cases are, for example, *Aul.* 580–726, in which there are nine soliloquies (91 out of 147 lines), six of which are necessary, and *Merc.* 661–704, in which there are four (24 out of 44 lines), three of which are necessary. In Menander's *Σαμία* lines 271–312 consist wholly of two soliloquies, likewise 'Επιτ. 457–501. Nor can any distinction be drawn in this respect between the better and the poorer plays: of plays containing the fewest soliloquies, the *Cistellaria*, the *Epidicus* and the *Asinaria* (which has only one), none is among Plautus's best, whereas of those containing the most, the *Pseudolus*, the *Truculentus*, the *Trinummus*, the *Aulularia*, the *Mercator* (the last two have 16 and 14 respectively) and the *Rudens* (which has 20, the largest number found),

<sup>51</sup> In this connection there is a valuable warning to us how completely the modern dislike of the soliloquy must be discounted in Leo's remarks (*Der Monolog*, pp. 3–4) on the fact that its frequent use in ancient comedy was probably due not wholly to a dramatic or theatrical convention but partly also to a natural Greek habit, at least in early times, of talking aloud to one's self, already abundantly illustrated in Homer.

at least four are among his best. To consider the plays as a whole, Table I will show that, in the plays that contain more than ten soliloquies each, the number of lines of soliloquy varies from 16 to 31 per cent of the total number of lines, while in only two plays is the percentage below ten. The significance of these figures can perhaps be brought out most forcibly if we remark that even in Hamlet the proportion of lines of soliloquy is only seven per cent.

### III. THE RELATION BETWEEN LATIN AND NEW GREEK COMEDY IN RESPECT TO THE SOLILOQUY.

In view of these facts as to the part played by soliloquy in Latin comedy, which the most casual reader must know differ greatly from the facts as to the use of soliloquy in Aristophanes and in tragedy,<sup>52</sup> we are naturally led to ask precisely to what extent Plautus was in this respect following his originals. In other words, to what extent does a soliloquy in Plautus imply a soliloquy in his original, or how much, in this respect, was a typical specimen of New Comedy like a typical play of Plautus? The natural way to approach this question is of course through Terence. Table II in the appendix tabulates the results of an examination of his plays similar to that we have made of Plautus. In the first place, the proportion of lines of soliloquy to total number of lines varies in the six plays from 18 per cent in the *Adelphi* to seven in the *Heautontimoroumenos*; the highest average is below the highest in Plautus, the lowest above the lowest in Plautus. The average number of soliloquies in a play is slightly greater than in Plautus. In the second place, of the different types of soliloquy that we have distinguished, the table will show that there are in Terence specimens of all except the soliloquy as technical prologue, the soliloquy of announcement, and what we have called the topical-rhetorical monologue.<sup>53</sup> The absence of the first type is of no consequence, the absence of the second can hardly be thought significant in view of the presence of so many soliloquies of development, comment and deliberation; the possible significance of the absence of the third type we shall consider later. There are only two considerable differences in proportion among the different classes, as compared with Plautus. First, in Terence the soliloquy of development and the soliloquy of comment are relatively more common than in Plautus, which is, however, a fact of little importance. Second, there is only one comic soliloquy in Terence, which represents a proportion

<sup>52</sup> This point will be considered in more detail in Section IV.

<sup>53</sup> There are no soliloquies in Terence that need be classified as anomalous.

of the total number of soliloquies only one eighth of the corresponding proportion in Plautus; to this fact, which on the contrary is of importance, we shall shortly recur. In the third place, and lastly, the ratio in Terence of soliloquies necessary or useful to those not useful differs only in being a little higher than the ratio in Plautus.

All these facts stand out so plainly that we are quite justified in concluding that so far, with the exception of the topical-rhetorical monologue and the comic soliloquy, Terence's treatment of the soliloquy differs in no important respect from Plautus's. Now we know how closely Terence imitated his Greek originals. Therefore Plautus's treatment of those types of soliloquy that are found also in Terence, likewise their place, or lack of place, in the structure of his plays, may safely be assumed to be the same as that of the Greek originals.

In addition to the evidence of the plays of Terence themselves, the commentary of Donatus furnishes us with valuable information. First, he quotes four fragments of Menander, three on the *Adelphi*, one on the *Eunuchus*,<sup>54</sup> as equivalents of lines in soliloquies in Terence; it is therefore fair to assume, if he says nothing to the contrary, that there were similar soliloquies in the originals. Second, he comments three times, once with express approval, on places where Terence has eliminated a soliloquy that he found in Menander.<sup>55</sup> On the contrary, only once does Donatus tell us that Terence used a soliloquy where there was none in his

<sup>54</sup> Men. 'Ἄδελ. 1 on Ter. Adel. 43-44; a line of which the Greek is hopelessly corrupt on Ter. Adel. 199; Men. 'Ἄδελ. 10 on Ter. Adel. 866; Men. Κόλαξ on Ter. Eun. 238.

<sup>55</sup> On Ter. Eun. 539: *Bene inventa persona est cui narret Chaerea, ne unus diu loquatur, ut apud Menandrum.*

On Ter. And. prol. 14: *Primam scenam de Perinthia translatam . . ., ubi senex ita cum uxore loquitur ut apud Terentium cum liberto. At in Andria Menandri solus senex est.*

On Ter. Hec. 1: *Novo genere hic utraque προτακτικὰ πρόσωπα inducuntur; . . . hoc autem maluit Terentius quam aut per prologum narraret aut θέων ἀπὸ μηχανῆς induceret loqui.*

With this last comment may be compared the elimination by Turpilius in his *Epicleros* (frag. 1, quoted by Priscian in *De metris Terentii*, in Keil III, p. 254) of a soliloquy of the love-sick youth, of the type unfavorably referred to in Plaut. *Merc.* 3-4, which was apparently found in Menander's *'Επικληνός* (frag. 164).

original, and in that instance he implies that there was a good reason.<sup>56</sup> Similarly Aulus Gellius in his commentary on Menander's *Πλόκιον* quotes two fragments of soliloquies.<sup>57</sup> The soliloquies upon which these comments are based represent the types of exposition, development, and comment surely, perhaps also announcement, deliberation, characterization and moralizing. We can accordingly now go a step further and maintain that, at least with regard to those types of soliloquy, there is not only no doubt that Terence did not use the soliloquy more freely than his originals, but some probability that he used it less freely. This hypothesis receives additional support from the fact that, in the two plays of Plautus that can safely be attributed definitely to Menander, the *Bacchides* and the *Stichus*, and in the *Aulularia*, which can be attributed to him with a high degree of probability,<sup>58</sup> the percentage of lines of soliloquy in the total number of lines is respectively 18, 23 and 26, figures which, as we shall soon see, accord more nearly with the figures for the actual remnants of Menander than the corresponding figures for the plays of Terence based on Menander, which vary from seven to 18.

Now what holds of Terence we have shown above surely holds of Plautus. But the converse is not necessarily true. May what holds of Plautus, if it does not hold of Terence, hold of Plautus's originals? We must, that is, seek more light on the topical-rhetorical monologue, which is not found at all in Terence, and on the comic soliloquy. The one example of the latter, *Eun.* 223 ff, it is true we have just seen can safely be attributed to the original of Menander. But even so conclusive an instance seems insufficient evidence, if it is at all possible to get more, when we consider that in the *Phormio*, a play in which the central figure is the parasite, there is not one purely comic soliloquy spoken by him, nor in any of Terence's plays any such soliloquy spoken by a slave. Happily, while Terence's plays do not give us any information on this point, his prologues

<sup>56</sup> Don. on Ter. Hec. 825: *Brevitati consultit Terentius, nam in Graeca haec aguntur, non narrantur.*

<sup>57</sup> Aul. Gell. 2, 23; Menander 402, 404.

<sup>58</sup> See F. Hueffner, *De Plauti comoediis exemplis Atticis* (Diss. Göttingen, 1894).

do. In prol. Eun. 7-8 Terence refers to his enemy Luscius Lanuvinus, the *malus poeta* of the prologues,

qui bene vortendo et easdem scribendo male  
ex graecis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas.

That is, Lanuvinus imitated his originals closely. Now in prol. Heaut. 31-32 Terence again refers to him,

qui nuper fecit servo currenti in via  
decesse populum.

Lastly, in prol. Eun. 36 he mentions *currentem servum scribere* among the commonplaces of comedy, in line 41 concluding that

nullumst iam dictum quod non sit dictum prius.<sup>59</sup>

Apparently, then, Terence either carefully selected originals of a type less likely to contain such soliloquies or, if he did find them in his original, omitted them,<sup>60</sup> a possibility that seems probable enough in view of the comments of Donatus that we have just quoted.<sup>61</sup> For this evidence seems quite conclusive for new Greek comedy in general, particularly when reinforced from similar allusions in Plautus.<sup>62</sup>

The same question in regard to the topical-rhetorical monologue is somewhat more difficult. In prol. Phor. 6-8 Terence, comparing himself to Lanuvinus, says of himself:

nusquam insanum scripsit adulescentulum  
cervam videre fugere, et sectari canes,  
et eam plorare ut subveniat sibi.

<sup>59</sup> This soliloquy of the running slave may well have been a parody of such a walking soliloquy, to call it so, as that of the *πρέσβυτος* in Eur. Elec. 487 ff., which is not unlike the walking—or hurrying—soliloquy of *senex* in Plaut. Men. 753 ff.

<sup>60</sup> If Menander really went further than his predecessors and contemporaries in distinguishing true comedy from farce, it seems that Terence was inclined to go even further than Menander—certainly as far.

<sup>61</sup> Similar evidence of omissions by Plautus is afforded by Ter. prol. Adel. 6-10 and Plaut. Cas. 63-65.

<sup>62</sup> Capt. 778, eodem pacto ut comici servi solent; Poen. 523, servoli esse festinantem currere; and especially Mercury's words in Amph. 986-987:

num mihi quidem hercle qui minus licet deo minitari  
populo ni decedat mihi quam servolo in comoediis?

This perhaps hints at a rhetorical monologue somewhat similar to those found in Plautus.<sup>63</sup> This evidence is to be sure inadequate. It is perhaps a little strengthened by the three fragments of New Comedy that we have already referred to<sup>64</sup> as probable specimens of this type of soliloquy, although, as we remarked, they also are inadequate by themselves. The strongest argument, however, is the negative one that we know of no case where either Plautus or Terence added any considerable element to his play that, even though not found in the original, was not at least the common property of New Comedy.<sup>65</sup> The occasional minor Roman allusions in Plautus are of course to be excepted, and even these were doubtless largely substitutes for similar Greek local allusions in the originals.<sup>66</sup> So far as the writer is aware, the only case where it has been suggested that either poet used a non-dramatic source is Ter. Phor. 339 ff., where for the illegible name in Donatus's comment “haec non ab Apollodoro sed de . . . translata sunt omnia” Vahlen would read a reference to Ennius's satires, for which, however, he seems to produce no good evidence. Similarly, the only case known to the writer where it has been plausibly suggested that any considerable portion of a play of either is original is the comic auction in Stich. 193 ff., which, on the basis of lines 193-195,<sup>67</sup> Leo argues<sup>68</sup> could not have been in the Greek play. Leo's argument we must grant succeeds in establishing at least an interesting possibility, but even if we grant him his conclusion we have only a solitary instance, for he himself adduces no parallels.

<sup>63</sup> On the contrary, it may indicate only a scene similar to Plaut. Men. 835 ff.

<sup>64</sup> See p. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Such additions, exclusive of contamination, are the addition of characters not found in the original, of which Donatus informs us on And. 301 and Eun. 539, and minor alterations of dramatic detail, where Donatus thinks Terence has improved on his original, e.g., And. 891, Phor. 91, 482.

<sup>66</sup> See Westaway, Original Elements in Plautus (Cambridge, 1917), which confirms this suggestion by comparing, e.g., the Mercator and the Pseudolus in this respect.

<sup>67</sup> Haec verba subiungit med ut mores barbaros  
discam atque ut faciam paeconis compendium  
itaque auctionem praedicem ipse ut venditem.

<sup>68</sup> Plaut. Försch. pp. 152 ff.

To sum up the argument, we are thus brought to the conclusion first, that of the twelve types of soliloquy which we distinguished in the case of Plautus, exclusive only of the first and last classes, the new Greek comedy contained examples of all; second, that soliloquies in New Comedy were as frequent, and occupied proportionately as large a part of the play, as in Latin; third, that in New Comedy soliloquies played practically the same part in the structure as in Latin. It is only in respect to the tenth class, the topical-rhetorical monologue, that we are reduced to claiming no more than a high degree of probability; for all the others we can safely claim absolute certainty.

The remnants we possess of New Comedy will when examined bear out these conclusions in their entirety. Table III in the appendix contains the results of such an examination of Menander's *'Επιτρέποντες*, *Περικερομένη* and *Σαμία*. Throughout Section I we referred to such examples as there are in Menander of soliloquies of the different types. All are represented, again exclusive of the first and last classes, except the soliloquy of exposition, the comic soliloquy and the rhetorical monologue.<sup>69</sup> The last we have discussed fully. The absence of the comic soliloquy can only mean, as we have already suggested, in connection with its rarity in Terence, that Menander individually avoided it, or else that the fragments we have are all from plays where it happened not to occur, such plays as Terence by preference chose as his originals. The soliloquy of exposition would doubtless be found if we had preserved the beginnings of the plays, since it is found in Menander's *Γεωργίς* and is common enough in Terence.<sup>70</sup> The only striking difference

<sup>69</sup> The occurrence of two soliloquies of announcement in Menander justifies our conclusion above (p. 19) that their absence in Terence is of no significance.

<sup>70</sup> In the opinion of Prof. Edward Capps of Princeton University, Prof. A. M. Harmon, now of Yale University, has demonstrated that the St. Petersburg fragment, placed by Capps in *Four Plays of Menander* (Boston, etc., 1910) after line 408, and printed by Körte as *Fabula Incerta II*, really belongs to the *πρόλογος* of the *'Επιτρέποντες*. In that case we have two soliloquies in the *πρόλογος*, one of exposition, one of moralizing. Harmon also argued that the rôle of the cook, who has a soliloquy in lines 391 ff., also belongs to the *πρόλογος*. The results of his study were not published, and his papers are still inaccessible, because of the intervention of the war.

in proportion is the relatively large number in Menander of soliloquies for characterization, as compared to the Latin comedians, a difference which is perhaps not surprising.

If we had these three plays complete, the results of an examination might be somewhat different, although it is scarcely conceivable that they could be fundamentally so. At any rate, as they stand, the average number of soliloquies to a play and the percentage of lines of soliloquy in the total number of lines are higher than in either Plautus or Terence.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, the three plays of Plautus that may be attributed to Menander show, as we have pointed out above, a percentage of lines of soliloquy likewise considerably higher than the average for Plautus, so that on this question, at least for Menander individually, all doubts may safely be dismissed. In Menander the proportion of necessary and useful soliloquies is 50 per cent, in Terence 46, in Plautus 41. In Menander *senex*, *adulescens* and slave together have 85 per cent of all soliloquies, in Terence 83, in Plautus 80. Surely these facts speak plainly enough for themselves.

The comic fragments we have used as much as possible in Section I to furnish examples of different types of soliloquy. For all questions as to the part played by soliloquies in the structure they were of course almost useless. At most all they could be expected to prove is the existence in New Comedy of such structurally unnecessary soliloquies as those of moralizing and comedy. For now that we have demonstrated the presence of such soliloquies by more reliable evidence, we may more safely take the fragments of philosophizing and the speeches of cooks and parasites as examples of soliloquy, even though we can seldom prove conclusively that they were soliloquies. A few fragments do, however, really supply probable examples of structurally necessary soliloquies: Menander 13 seems a parallel to Plaut. Bacc. 170 ff., where the returned traveler greets his homeland, and Antiphanes 206 and Diphilus 33 to Aul. 371 ff., where the man returning from market complains of high prices.

The conclusions that we have thus reached may perhaps be further confirmed in a negative way. In the first place, if we examine the comedies of Plautus with reference to the authors

<sup>71</sup> The average percentage in Plautus is 17, in Terence 12, in Menander 32.

of the originals,<sup>72</sup> we find that in the *Mercator*, the *Mostellaria* and the *Trinummus*, which we know were translations of Philemon, the average percentage of lines of soliloquy in the total number of lines is 23, slightly higher than the average for the plays from Menander, while in the *Rudens* and the *Casina* of Diphilus<sup>73</sup> it is 16, somewhat lower. This would seem to indicate that, even though the figures for Menander, or for the plays of Plautus based on Menander, are higher than the average for all the Plautine plays, little if any significance can be attached to this fact. For if we conclude that Menander did really use the soliloquy more freely than the ordinary poet of New Comedy, then so too, we must conclude, did Philemon. But since the average for Diphilus is not only lower than that for Menander and Philemon, but also a little lower than the average for Plautus, while the two plays of Diphilus upon which the average is based stand, in respect to number of soliloquies, almost at opposite extremes (there are only nine in the *Casina* as against 20 in the *Rudens*), it seems more reasonable to suppose that none of the differences matter much, so long as we find no reason to suppose that soliloquy in New Comedy was less common than in Plautus, —find, that is, nothing to disturb our conclusion that in this respect new Greek comedy and Plautine comedy were exactly alike. The one play of Plautus that is commonly assigned to an original of Middle Comedy, *i.e.*, the *Persa*,<sup>74</sup> shows a percentage of soliloquy (12) lower than the percentage we have found in Menander, Philemon and Diphilus, and lower than the general average in Plautus, but the difference is hardly great enough, nor one example sufficient, to allow us to base thereon any inference as to a gradual increase in the use of soliloquy throughout Middle Comedy, only culminating in the New as represented, *e.g.*, by Menander, although such a gradual development is plausible and, as we shall soon see reason to think, indeed probable. In the second place, if we examine the plays of

<sup>72</sup> Leo attempts something of this sort, from his own particular point of view, in *Der Monolog*, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>73</sup> Of all these plays except the *Mostellaria* the author of the original is named in the prologue; for the last see Hueffner, *De Plauti comoediis* etc., p. 68.

<sup>74</sup> See Hueffner, pp. 70 ff.

Plautus from the point of view of date of composition, we are brought back again to the same conclusion. The use of soliloquy does not depend in the least on any special development of Plautus's own technique or on any growth of his originality. For (to take a few easily dated examples) in the *Menaechmi* and the *Stichus*, both early plays,<sup>75</sup> the percentage of lines of soliloquy is 14 and 23 respectively; in the *Poenulus*, the *Pseudolus* and the *Truculentus*, all late,<sup>76</sup> respectively 7, 16 and 28.

<sup>75</sup> The *Menaechmi* can be dated by the allusion in lines 408-409 to King Hiero of Syracuse, who died in 215, as still living; the *Stichus* is assigned by the *didascalia* to 200.

<sup>76</sup> The *Poenulus* is placed after the capture of Sparta in 189 by line 665, the previous capture in 222 being out of the question because of the frequent mention in the play of Philippean money, which came into use first in 194; the *Pseudolus* is placed in 191 by the *didascalia*, and the *Truculentus* classed with it as a production of Plautus's old age by Cicero in *De Senectute*, 14, 50.

#### IV. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE CHORUS AND THE SOLILOQUY.

If we are to account for the part played by the soliloquy in New Comedy, it is necessary first to see what its function was in Old Comedy and tragedy, where its use was still conditioned by the presence of the chorus. Referring to our definition of soliloquy in the introduction, we should naturally infer that in tragedy—to consider that first,—so far as concerns the chorus, a soliloquy can occur only in the *πρόλογος*, or thereafter only when it would be dramatically possible for a character to ignore the presence of the chorus, or when the chorus leaves the stage entirely. The other alternative that we mentioned for New Comedy, *i.e.*, that a character should without ignoring the presence of another still ignore the possibility of conversation with him, is scarcely conceivable in the case of a chorus that is normally present throughout the whole of the play after the *πρόλογος*. The question of the presence of a second character we do not here need to consider at all, so long as the chorus is present.

This inference we find to be in fact correct. In tragedy soliloquies are already used in the *πρόλογος* by Aeschylus and Sophocles.<sup>77</sup> Elsewhere they use the soliloquy only where it is psychologically and dramatically plausible that a character should ignore the presence of the chorus. The few examples of such soliloquies are all of this type, and all dramatically well motivated: Io's frenzy, the greeting of Agamemnon's herald to the fatherland, Cassandra's prophecy, the soliloquy of Ajax (where he ignores Tecmessa also) and Teucer's soliloquy over the dead body of his brother.<sup>78</sup> These are the only examples before Euripides. The only other case is the soliloquy of Ajax alone on the shore, between his leaving the chorus before his tent at line 814 and their reappearance on the shore at line 866.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>77</sup> The only cases are Aesch. Prom. 88 ff (Prometheus), Sept. 69 ff (the prayer of Eteocles), Agam. 1 ff (the watchman), Eum. 1 ff (the priestess), id. 94 ff (the ghost of Clytaemnestra to the sleeping Furies); Soph. Trac. 1 ff (Deianeira), Elec. 86 ff (Electra).

<sup>78</sup> Aesch. Prom. 566 ff and 877 ff; Agam. 503–523; id. 1072 ff; Soph. Aj. 646 ff; id. 992–1027 respectively.

<sup>79</sup> The presence of mutes on the stage, which must have been almost con-

At this point we should perhaps call attention to the very common confusion of soliloquy and apostrophe. We find this already in the address to the fatherland just mentioned from the Agamemnon, and in the address to a house or a tomb,<sup>80</sup> which we find represented in New Comedy respectively by the greeting to the fatherland in Plaut. Bacc. 170 ff and Menander 13<sup>81</sup> and by the farewell to the ancestral home in Plaut. Merc. 830 ff. Probably all these, certainly at least those in comedy, we may safely call soliloquies. But in the case of the frequent apostrophes to express strong emotion, particularly in Sophocles,<sup>82</sup> who, as Leo remarks,<sup>83</sup> used the soliloquy mostly for *πάθος*, it seems impossible to say that the presence of the chorus was really ignored. We need therefore add no soliloquies from this source to those just enumerated.

In Aeschylus and Sophocles it is important to observe that all these soliloquies are carefully motivated. Not to speak of those that occur after the *πρόλογος*, where in every instance the high tension of feeling under which the character speaks makes the presence of the chorus inconsequential, the soliloquies in the *πρόλογος* also are each one thoroughly natural and convincing. Euripides, on the contrary, almost entirely abandoned dramatic motivation for soliloquies in the *πρόλογος*, *i.e.*, soliloquies of exposition. We need not here speak of the typical Euripidean prologue delivered by a god, whether the god reappears in the play or not. To consider, then, only soliloquies spoken by other

tinuous in tragedy, need not be taken into account in this connection, as it

was always quite natural for a character to ignore their presence. For example,

in Eur. Elec. 140 and 150 Electra addresses an attendant whose presence is

proved by line 218, and yet lines 112–166 are clearly a soliloquy.

<sup>80</sup> E.g., to a house Eur. Herc. Fur. 523 ff, Orest. 356 ff, Bacc. 1024 ff; to a

tomb Hel. 1165 ff.

<sup>81</sup> Also in Old Comedy by a new fragment of the *Δῆμος* of Eupolis, which

may be a soliloquy, published by Körte in Hermes, 1912, pp. 276 ff (Fragmente

einder Handschrift der Demen des Eupolis) as Iv, of which lines 13–14 read:

ω γῆ πατρόφα χαῖρε. σὲ γὰρ ἀσπάζομαι  
πασῶν πόλεων ἔκπαγλοτάη καὶ φιλάτη.

<sup>82</sup> E.g., Phil. 1081 ff, Elec. 1126 ff, Trac 983 ff, O. T. 1391 ff; in the case of the last two we should also remember the influence of the conventional public or semi-public forms of lamentation.

<sup>83</sup> Der Monolog, p. 13.

characters, we find that only in the Cyclops is both the presence and the speech of the character (Silenus) in the *πρόλογος* motivated.<sup>84</sup> In the Medea, on the contrary, wherein lines 57–58<sup>85</sup> the nurse even states her motive for speaking as she does in her soliloquy in lines 1–48, yet it is plain that her only purpose, either in coming out of the house when she did or in speaking as she did, was to address the audience. The motivation here given is not only no longer genuine, as Leo shows that it was in Homer,<sup>86</sup> nor even dramatically logical, as it is in the two places where it is adduced in Aeschylus,<sup>87</sup> but purely conventional and wholly unreal, as it always is wherever it is found in Euripides.<sup>88</sup> Precisely the same may be said of the same motivation, *i.e.*, the address to the elements, with the added motif of sleeplessness, that we find in Elec. 54 ff. We may accordingly be sure that whenever we find this motivation in comedy<sup>89</sup> it is likewise wholly artificial, and conceals but slightly a speech designed merely for the benefit of the audience. The case is the same with the second of the motivations for soliloquy, *i.e.*, the address to one's self. We find it in the *πρόλογος* in Euripides in Troi.

<sup>84</sup> This may well have been the case also, certainly in respect at least to motivation of the presence of the character, with the soliloquy that we know from Dion. Chrys. 59 opened the Philoctetes. It is certainly the case with the monologue of Apollo that opens the newly found *Ιχνευταί Σάτυροι* of Sophocles (Pearson, The Fragments of Sophocles, Cambridge, 1917, Vol. I). But in this case it is questionable if Apollo's speech, announcing the loss of his cattle and a reward for their return, is not rather an address to the audience after the manner of Old Comedy than properly a soliloquy; for a genuine soliloquy in New Comedy under somewhat similar circumstances cf. Plaut. Aul. 713 ff, which likewise in part address the audience, but with very different effect.

<sup>85</sup> ὁσθ' ἵμερός μ' ὑπῆλθε γῆ τε κούρανῷ  
λέξαι μολόντη δεῦρο Μηδέλας τύχας.

<sup>86</sup> Der Monolog, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>87</sup> Prom. 106–107, Agam. 1 ff.

<sup>88</sup> Also Andr. 91–95, Elec. 54 ff, Iph. Taur. 42–43.

<sup>89</sup> The address to the elements is illustrated by Philemon 79, where lines 1–2 are obviously a parody of Med. 57–58:

ὁσθ' ἵμερός μ' ὑπῆλθε γῆ τε κούρανῷ  
λέξαι μολόντη τούρφοις ὡς ἐσκενάσα.

With the added motif of sleeplessness it is found in Old Comedy in Arist. Clouds 1 ff, and in Menander 164, and is unfavorably criticized in Plaut. Merc. 3–5.

98–100, though more commonly in soliloquies after the *πρόλογος*,<sup>90</sup> also in Old Comedy, the comic fragments and Menander,<sup>91</sup> and often in Latin comedy,<sup>92</sup> in the form of either a simple address to the self, usually by name,<sup>93</sup> or an address to the spirit or heart or some part of the body.<sup>94</sup> The third possible motivation, prayer to the gods, is not represented by any one soliloquy in Euripides, but is found in Aesch. Sept. 69–77; on the contrary, it preserves, even where it occurs in comedy,<sup>95</sup> something of its original genuineness.

We may therefore conclude that soliloquies spoken by a character in the *πρόλογος* in Euripides,<sup>96</sup> whether motivation is assigned, as in the cases we have cited, or, as more commonly, not, are in fact all alike not dramatically motivated at all, but expressly designed for, if not addressed directly to, the audience. That is, Euripides has here taken a long step from tragedy as represented by Aeschylus and Sophocles towards New Comedy. On the other hand, soliloquies after the *πρόλογος* are conditioned almost as strictly as in Aeschylus and Sophocles by the dramatic plausibility of the character's ignoring the chorus.<sup>97</sup> Sometimes in such cases there is even particularly good motivation, as in the two soliloquies of Hercules and Orestes waking from sleep,<sup>98</sup> and the ravings of Phaedra,<sup>99</sup> which also are imitated in comedy.<sup>100</sup> But on the two occasions where between *πάροδος* and *ἔξοδος* he gets the chorus off the stage, Alc. 747 ff and Hel. 386 ff, Euripides fills up the interval until their reappearance largely with soliloquies that show no motivation whatever: in the Alcestis with

<sup>90</sup> E.g., Med. 401 ff, 1056 ff, 1242 ff; Ion 1041–1044; Alc. 837 ff.

<sup>91</sup> E.g., Arist. Achar. 480–489; Alexis 186; Anaxandrides 59; Menander Σαμ.

ΙΙΙ–ΙΙΙ, 134–141.

<sup>92</sup> E.g., Plaut. Asin. 249 ff, Trin. 1008 ff.

<sup>93</sup> E.g., Eur. Med. 402, Menander Σαμ. ΙΙΙ, Plaut. Trin. 1008.

<sup>94</sup> E.g., Eur. Alc. 837 (*καρδία καὶ χεῖρ*), Med. 1056 (*θυμέ*), Ion 1041 (*ποίησις*); cf. Plaut. Pseud. 1246 (*pedes*).

<sup>95</sup> E.g., Plaut. Mil. 431–444, Poen. 950–960.

<sup>96</sup> Med. 1 ff, Andr. 91 ff, Orest. 126 ff, Troi. 98 ff, Elec. 54 ff, Ion 82 ff, Cycl. 1 ff.

<sup>97</sup> E.g., Med. 364–409, 1021–1080, 1242–1250.

<sup>98</sup> Herc. Fur. 1088 ff, Orest. 211–214; cf. also Soph. Trac. 983 ff.

<sup>99</sup> Hipp. 215–222, 228–231.

<sup>100</sup> For the first variety cf. Arist. Clouds 25 ff; for the second cf. Plaut. Men. 835 ff and see Ter. prol. Phor. 6–8.

soliloquies of development and announcement, in the Helen with a second prologue and a soliloquy of deliberation.<sup>101</sup> Here the contrast is great to the highly dramatic soliloquy of the lone Ajax in the only case outside Euripides where the chorus is thus removed from the stage.<sup>102</sup>

To pass now to the consideration of soliloquy and chorus in Old Comedy, we find in Aristophanes five soliloquies in the *πρόλογος*.<sup>103</sup> Thereafter we should expect to find very few if any, since the chorus in comedy was not only always present, as in tragedy, but generally took a far larger part in the action than in tragedy. In the first nine plays, indeed, we find only Dicaeopolis' address to his heart in Achar. 480 ff and Cinesias' burlesque prayer in Lys. 973 ff that are plainly soliloquies (both of comment). Perhaps also Socrates's comment in Clouds 627 ff, although dubious in character, since in Old Comedy it was always possible really to address remarks to the audience, might be reckoned as a soliloquy. But since between the first nine and the last two of the extant plays of Aristophanes a great difference came about in the function of the chorus, we might expect to find a corresponding difference in the use of soliloquy. In the Ecclesiazusae the chorus is absent from line 310 until the second *πάροδος* beginning at line 478. Nothing is written for it after line 582 until the lines of the *coryphaeus* in 1127 ff, thereafter only the closing song (1179-1182). *χοροῦ* is read in our texts at lines 729, 876, 1111.<sup>104</sup> In the Plutus no part is written for it after the end of the *πάροδος* at line 315 except the lines for the *coryphaeus* in 328 ff, 631 ff, 962 ff, and the closing lines, also for *coryphaeus* (1208-1209). *χοροῦ* is read at lines 321, 626, 770, 801, 958, 1096. It is obvious that, except perhaps at the beginning of the Ecclesiazusae, the chorus in these two plays is no longer an actor at all, although the *coryphaeus* still is to a slight degree. The chorus itself, except in Eccl. 310-478, seems to have been on the stage throughout, but in any case it could

<sup>101</sup> Alc. 747 ff, 837 ff; Hel. 386 ff, 483 ff respectively.

<sup>102</sup> Aj. 815 ff.

<sup>103</sup> Achar. 1 ff, Clouds 1 ff, 41 ff, 60 ff, Lys. 1 ff, Eccl. 1 ff, Plut. 1 ff. It is a question whether or not the monologue of Trygaeus in Peace 150 ff should be included; probably not.

<sup>104</sup> On *χοροῦ* and its significance see footnote 111.

have been plausibly ignored by a character almost anywhere in the play after the *πάροδος*.<sup>105</sup> In point of fact, already in the Frogs the chorus is hardly an actor, but that fact makes no difference so far as soliloquies go, there being none in the play. Did the same fact make any difference in the last two plays? In this respect they are apparently different; that is, the effect of the removal of the chorus from the action is not yet consistent. For in the Ecclesiazusae there are four soliloquies during its absence from the stage, or after its withdrawal from the action of the plot,<sup>106</sup> while in the Plutus there is only one.<sup>107</sup> The choral songs of these two plays, except for the *πάροδοι* and the one ode at the beginning of the *άγών* of the Ecclesiazusae (571-581), are therefore only what Aristotle calls *έμβολιμα*.<sup>108</sup> The seclusion of the chorus in comedy from the action was accordingly a gradual process, the beginning of which we can see in the Frogs, the continuation in the Ecclesiazusae and the Plutus, had on the use of soliloquy we shall now proceed to examine; its survival, in the form in which it survived, could have had none. the culmination in New Comedy. In tragedy too, if we had specimens extant covering the first quarter of the fourth century, we should expect to find a similar process,<sup>109</sup> differing only, if the Rhesus is typical of its period, in being carried perhaps not

<sup>105</sup> Plutus 766-767

μή νυν μέλλει ἔτι

ως ἄνδρες ἐγγύες εἰσιν ηδη τῶν θυρῶν.

are so much like similar references in New Comedy to the approach of the incidental chorus, e.g., Menander, Fab. Inc. II, 33-34

ἴωμεν ως καὶ μετρακύλλιων δχλος  
eis τὸν τόπον τις ἐρχεσθε γε μένων,

that, although the lines in the Plutus refer not to the chorus proper but to the incidental band of revelers, yet it is easy to discern in them a step towards the later use of the chorus itself as the incidental *κῶμος*, which had to some extent already been anticipated by the employment of the auxiliary chorus in the Frogs.

<sup>106</sup> See Table IV in the appendix.

<sup>107</sup> I.e., 802 ff, which is addressed to the audience, but clearly resembles the soliloquies of New Comedy more than it resembles Clouds 627-632, to which we have referred above (p. 32).

<sup>108</sup> Poet. 1456 a. On the whole question of *έμβολιμα* see Flickinger, The Greek Theater and Its Drama (Chicago, 1918), pp. 144 ff.

<sup>109</sup> Flickinger (p. 146) calls attention to the occurrence of *χοροῦ* in a new fragment of a Medea of the fourth century.

quite so far. For Aristotle says that Agathon used *έμβολμα*, and before him we can see how Euripides, even though that term is not applicable to any of his choral odes, gradually removed the chorus from participation in the action, and in one case at least, *i.e.*, the *Suppliants*, even employed a chorus that had no more connection with the plot in personnel than it had in action.<sup>110</sup>

In the last two plays of Aristophanes we may say, then, that no part written for the chorus was published by the author, or at any rate retained in the text by scholars, except the *πάροδοι* and one other ode (Eccl. 571–581). In New Comedy so far as we know no part whatever was published, perhaps none even written by the poet himself, for the chorus. The question of what the chorus actually was in New Comedy we have here no occasion to discuss,<sup>111</sup> nor the question of what traces of it, if any, may be found in Latin comedy.<sup>112</sup> Suffice it to say that in the Greek plays it took no part in the action and appeared on the stage only in the intervals set for its performances, while in the Latin even its appearance at all in a few plays is open to doubt. A trace of the old chorus is doubtless to be found in Plaut. Rud. 290–305, where a band of fishermen recite what reminds us of a *πάροδος*, but only through the mouth of the single leader who speaks for them in the following dialogue (305–324). Perhaps Menander 547–548 is similar, but these two are the only such cases, unless we include some of the scenes where groups of supernumeraries appear.<sup>113</sup> What effect the loss of the chorus had on the use of soliloquy we shall now proceed to examine; its survival, in the form in which it survived, could have had none.

<sup>110</sup> This is practically a typical chorus of New Comedy, at least in so far as its rôle in the play is concerned. The chorus in Aristophanes's *Plutus* falls midway between this chorus and that of New Comedy.

<sup>111</sup> See Leo, *Der Monolog*, pp. 39 ff.

Conrad, *Technique of Continuous Action*, etc., introduction and Chapter V. Legrand-Loeb, *The New Greek Comedy*.

Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*.

<sup>112</sup> See Conrad; also Flickinger, *χοροῦ* in Terence's *Heauton*, etc., Class. Phil. 7, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>113</sup> Conrad gives a list of such scenes on p. 76, note 12.

## V. THE CAUSES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRUCTURALLY USEFUL SOLILOQUY.

The soliloquies that we have been enumerating from tragedy and Old Comedy are all of the necessary or useful classes. In tragedy, not to speak of soliloquies of exposition in the *πρόλογος*, we have found soliloquies of development, announcement and deliberation.<sup>114</sup> Euripides especially favored the purely informative or explanatory soliloquy in the *πρόλογος*, which obviously anticipated the type as it exists unmotivated in New Comedy, as opposed to the more dramatic soliloquy represented, for example, by Aesch. *Prom.* 88 ff. Euripides also, when he could get the chorus off the stage, *i.e.*, in the *Alcestis* and the *Helen*, was, as we have seen, quick to take advantage of the situation to employ the soliloquy. His motive we can easily guess: he was aiming always for immediate effect on his audience, and the soliloquy is a convenient device to save time and trouble. This in particular because the effect he desired was to be got, not through dramatic action, but chiefly through *πάθος* of situation: the soliloquy accordingly helped to dispose as quickly and expeditiously as possible of the necessary details of plot, leaving him free to elaborate those parts of the play that really interested him. What he would have done with soliloquies of all types if he could have got rid entirely of the chorus we can imagine, especially from what he actually did with the monody: doubtless precisely what we know that the poets of New Comedy did. In Old Comedy, moreover, we have seen a development analogous to that in tragedy, which likewise favored the growth of the soliloquy in New Comedy. In the first nine plays of Aristophanes we found three soliloquies of exposition in the *πρόλογος*, in the last two plays one each, while elsewhere in the last two there are three of development, one of comment and one of deliberation<sup>115</sup> against only three of comment in the first nine together.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> E.g., Eur. *Alc.* 747 ff; id. 837 ff; *Hel.* 483 ff and *Med.* 364 ff respectively.

<sup>115</sup> Eccl. 311 ff, id. 377 ff and *Plut.* 802 ff; Eccl. 938 ff; id. 746 ff respectively.

<sup>116</sup> Achar. 480 ff, *Clouds* 627 ff, *Lys.* 973 ff.

But it is probable that on New Comedy Euripides was the greater influence in this particular if he was in general the greater influence;<sup>117</sup> his obvious influence in the related matter of the prologue is especially strong evidence in this connection.<sup>118</sup>

In so far, then, as New Comedy was subject to the influence of Euripides, then especially in so far as it was a comedy of manners it was especially subject to his influence towards development of the plot by means of soliloquies. On the other hand, in so far as New Comedy was interested in plot as distinct from characterization, we might have expected it to return to the carefully wrought manner of exposition of Sophocles. Needless to say, it was interested in plot far more than either Euripides or Old Comedy, yet it developed for the exposition of the plot the very means that Euripides had begun to employ to escape the necessity of troubling himself with the action and to leave himself free to elaborate the situation. This fact is to be explained by several general considerations, to which it is necessary only to call attention, without amplifying greatly.

In the first place, the audience knew in general the plot of a tragedy as soon as they heard its title, while one of the comedian's chief aims was necessarily novelty of plot.<sup>119</sup> Antiphanes complains of this disadvantage under which the comic poet labored in a clever fragment (191), in which he names as examples of the tragedians' old stock in trade Oedipus, Alcmaeon, Adrastus, Peleus, Teucer. Incidentally, this suggests the possibility that Euripides was somewhat influenced in his choice of the explanatory prologue by his preference both for less known myths such as

<sup>117</sup> As a further slight bit of evidence for what has come, under Leo's influence, to pass for an established fact, we may cite here (not to quote Quintilian's familiar comment in 10, 1, 69, nor the quotations of Euripides in Menander 'Ἐπιτ. 583-584 and Diphilus 60, lines 2-3, nor the reference to his Alcmena in Plaut. Rud. 86) especially the phrase *δι κατάχρυσος Ἐυριπίδης* in Diphilus 60, line 1.

Prescott in Class. Phil. 13, pp. 113 ff., argues against what he thinks the too quick, too careless and too inclusive acceptance of Leo's theory of Euripidean influence.

<sup>118</sup> The question of the prologue and Euripidean influence Leo has discussed fully in Plaut. Forsch., IV.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Plaut. Capt. 53 ff., especially line 55

non pertractate facta est neque item ut ceterae.

(to cite only extant plays) the stories of the Ion and the Iphigeneia in Tauris, and for variants and innovations in well-known myths, such as those of the Helen and the Electra, which would at once give him the greater freedom in plot which we have seen that he desired and yet require more initial explanation.

In the second place, if, with this general fact as to the plot of all comedies in mind, we take into account the conditions of performance, we shall see at once how and why the poets of New Comedy, already subject to the influences that we have observed from tragedy and Old Comedy, were naturally driven to employ the soliloquy as they did. We might almost say that irrespective of influence from the older drama they would have been driven to adopt some such device. The play was performed in an out-of-door theater, where there is plenty of evidence to show how difficult it was to get a hearing, especially in Rome,<sup>120</sup> and how quick the audience was to show its displeasure.<sup>121</sup> Hence the damnable iteration of some of Plautus's prologues, e.g., the prologue of the Menaechmi. Hence also the soliloquies of announcement and deliberation anticipating development, and the vast number of soliloquies of—to us—useless comment.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, the attention not only of the ears but also of the eyes must be held constantly, and in a theater that was comparatively huge; only in such a theater under such conditions is such a soliloquy as that in Mil. 200 ff. conceivable.<sup>123</sup> Again, there was no particular scenery, especially little if any possibility of changing scenery: hence, beside the general in-

<sup>120</sup> E.g., consider the prologues of several of Plautus's plays, especially the Captivi, and the fate of Terence's Hecyra.

<sup>121</sup> E.g., see Antiphanes 191, lines 17-21,

πάντα δεῖ  
εὑρεῖν, δύναματα καινά, τὰ διηρκημένα  
πρότερον, τὰ νῦν παρόντα, τὴν καταστροφήν,  
τὴν ἐνθολήν. ἀν ἐν τι τούτων παραλίπη  
Χρέμης τις ή Φέιδων τις, ἐκνυρίττεται.

<sup>122</sup> Legrand discusses (pp. 430 ff.) the necessity of this reiteration. Henry Ward Beecher remarked that you must tell an audience the same thing three times, once that it is going to happen, then that it is happening, finally that it has happened, after which some of them may understand. Many of the soliloquies that we have called structurally useless may have been very necessary in their way, after all.

<sup>123</sup> See p. 5.

congruity of having to show all the action in a scene representing a public place, the impossibility also of acting and the necessity of narrating so much important, even essential, action, which in the modern theater would not occur off stage at all. So, for example, in the *Rudens*, the speech in lines 160 ff, which, as we have remarked (page 4), closely resembles a soliloquy, represents a scene at the sea-shore, the soliloquies in lines 559 ff and 615 ff a scene in the temple, and the soliloquy in lines 892 ff a scene in Daemones' house. Even Shakespeare's simple sign-board would have relieved the ancient comedian marvelously, still without requiring the nuisance of scenery and scene-shifting, or overtaxing the imagination of the audience more than Sophocles overtaxed it by requiring them to see the stage in the Ajax first as a camp, then as a sea-shore. Finally, there seem to have been no distinct individual costumes,<sup>124</sup> and there were certainly no programs: hence the necessity which so many soliloquies serve of announcing the entrance of a new character.<sup>125</sup>

All these general considerations, it is important to remember, must be taken in connection with the loss of the chorus, by which, so far as concerns the soliloquy, their influence and effect was largely conditioned. We have seen that it was in the *πρόλογος*, before the appearance of the chorus, that tragedy and Old Comedy chiefly employed the soliloquy, *i.e.*, for exposition. Elsewhere the chorus was normally present, both to speak and to be spoken to. Many soliloquies of comment are obviously the equivalent of the running commentary on the action that the old chorus supplied, which was in reality, doubtless more than we are apt to think, for the benefit of the audience.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, everything in the development of the plot that was managed by address to or dialogue with the chorus was left in New Comedy to take the form either of monologue—*i.e.*, an undisguised appeal to the audience—or of dialogue with a char-

<sup>124</sup> See C. Saunders, *Costume in Roman Comedy* (Diss. New York, 1909); *e.g.*, p. 47, on the confusion of costume between two *adulescentes* in the same play.

<sup>125</sup> *E.g.*, Plaut. *Amph.* 1005–1008. See W. Koch, *De personarum comicarum introductione* (Diss. Breslau, 1914). Many of these introductions were of course not soliloquies but asides or parts of the dialogue.

<sup>126</sup> *E.g.*, Pseud. 667 ff.

acter to be found to replace the chorus. In the *πρόλογος* it was possible to employ a *πρόσωπον προτακτικόν*, as Terence preferred to do,<sup>127</sup> but elsewhere it was not so easy to invent a character that was at once in the action and yet not of it, although Terence attempted this also at least once.<sup>128</sup> Hence it is no wonder that the poets of New Comedy never consistently made any attempt to limit their employment of the structurally useful soliloquy, not even, so far as we know, an attempt on such a small scale as Terence did really make.

The soliloquy of development in particular often plainly represents the messenger's narrative in tragedy.<sup>129</sup> The considerable proportion of such narratives that are addressed to the chorus alone<sup>130</sup> is significant of what would naturally happen when the chorus disappeared. Even in comedy, to be sure, such soliloquies are occasionally motivated,<sup>131</sup> but far more often not, whereas, on the contrary, Aeschylus and Sophocles were usually careful even to motivate those narratives where the mere presence of the chorus was not dramatically sufficient.<sup>132</sup> But Euripides was content to let his messengers address the chorus without further motivation,—the chorus ostensibly, the audience really,—being here again the precursor of New Comedy. It is, however, not only in respect to the messenger's narrative that the soliloquy of development largely owes its existence to the loss of the chorus. Another excellent illustration is furnished by a comparison of the manner in which the different poets used dreams for dramatic purposes.<sup>133</sup> In Aesch. *Pers.* 176 ff Atossa recounts to the chorus a dream she has had; in Choe. 527 ff the chorus recounts

<sup>127</sup> See footnote 55.

<sup>128</sup> *Don.* on Ter. *Eun.* 539: *Bene inventa persona est cui narret Chaerea, ne unus diu loquatur, ut apud Menandrum.*

<sup>129</sup> On the general topic of narratives in tragedy and comedy see E. Fraenkel, *De media et nova comoedia quaestiones selectae* (Diss. Göttingen, 1912), Chapter I.

<sup>130</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 791 ff; Soph. *Aj.* 719 ff, *O. T.* 1237 ff, *O. C.* 1586 ff; Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1284 ff, *Bacc.* 1043 ff, *Herc. Fur.* 922 ff, *Ion* 1122 ff, *Alc.* 152 ff, *Rhes.* 756 ff.

<sup>131</sup> *E.g.*, Men. 'Επιτ. 202 ff, Plaut. *Bacc.* 368 ff, Ter. *Adel.* 610 ff.

<sup>132</sup> *E.g.*, Aesch. *Prom.* 441–446, Soph. *Trac.* 531–535.

<sup>133</sup> On this general subject see W. S. Messer, *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*, New York, 1918.

Clytaemnestra's dream to Orestes; in Soph. Elec. 417 ff Chrysothemis tells Clytaemnestra's dream to Electra and the chorus; in Eur. Hec. 65 ff Hecuba tells the chorus her own dream. In all these cases the chorus either acts as audience or itself speaks through the *coryphaeus*. In Iph. Taur. 42 ff, however, Iphigeneia recounts her dream in a soliloquy. A specious motivation, to be sure, is assigned,<sup>134</sup> but Plaut. Merc. 225 ff and Rud. 593 ff show that in New Comedy even the pretext was abandoned and the dreams told quite frankly to the audience. Old Comedy supplies one instance of a dream, told and interpreted in the dialogue of the two slaves in Wasps 13 ff, a method imitated by Plautus in Curc. 260 ff, where the cook interprets the dream that the procurer tells him. But here again Euripides, not Old Comedy, seems to have set the standard for New Comedy.

The technique of the structurally necessary or useful soliloquy we accordingly see that New Comedy owed rather more largely to Euripides than to Old Comedy, even though such soliloquies are actually more numerous in Aristophanes than in Euripides. There was, however, one very important inheritance of New Comedy from Old, *i.e.*, the liberty of the dramatist to address the audience directly. We have seen that Euripides in practice took the same liberty, sometimes with an attempt at motivation, usually without, but only in the *πρόλογος* or thereafter when the chorus had been removed from the stage.<sup>135</sup> The poet in Old Comedy had this liberty throughout the play. Not to mention the parabasis, we find four monologues in Aristophanes addressed by a character specifically to the audience that can not possibly be called soliloquies.<sup>136</sup> Then again we find an address to the audience such as Plut. 802 that precisely resembles a soliloquy of New Comedy. The decisive factor in the interval is of course the disappearance of the chorus. It is this influence from Old Comedy that doubtless chiefly explains the indifference to dramatic motivation that characterizes the soliloquies of New Comedy. And not only indifference to motivation: for even cases where the audience is addressed quite gratuitously are fairly common, which can only be explained by reference to such

<sup>134</sup> See footnote 88.

<sup>135</sup> The best example is the second prologue in Hel. 386 ff.

<sup>136</sup> Knights 50 ff, Wasps 54 ff, Peace 50 ff, Birds 30 ff.

a soliloquy as Plut. 802 ff, which in turn had developed from such a monologue as the four just cited from the earlier plays. This address to the audience we find in Menander,<sup>137</sup> and in Latin comedy it occasionally extends to include an entire soliloquy.<sup>138</sup> Finally, it is the combination of these influences from Euripides and Old Comedy that leads to such anomalous soliloquies as Plaut. Merc. 1 ff and Mil. 79 ff, where the character even steps out of the play entirely to address the audience about the play in which he is a character. There can hardly have been anything precisely like these two monologues in new Greek comedy, but there were surely precedents similar enough to warrant Plautus in taking still a little greater liberty.

<sup>137</sup> E.g., *Sap.* 54, 114, 338; see Leo, *Der Monolog*, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>138</sup> E.g., Plaut. Stich. 673-682, *Ter. Phor.* 465-470.

## VI. THE CAUSES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRUCTURALLY USELESS SOLILOQUY.

So far we have considered only the structurally necessary or useful soliloquies, *i.e.*, those of exposition, development, announcement, deliberation, together with many of particular comment. We have left to consider the structurally useless soliloquies, *i.e.*, those of more general comment, which verge upon those of moralizing, and finally the comic and topical-rhetorical monologues. Here it will be plain that the freedom in addressing the audience inherited from Old Comedy was far more important. For here we are dealing with the soliloquies that most nearly reproduced the parabasis and the *στάσιμα*, perhaps to some extent the *πάροδος* also. Indeed, save personal invective and political propaganda there is scarcely a choral element from Old Comedy, be it moralizing ethical or social, rhetorical conceit or incidental farce and horse-play, that is not represented in the soliloquies of New Comedy.

The resemblance between the soliloquy of the running slave or parasite and a typical *πάροδος* of Old Comedy, while perhaps not close, is surely plain enough. In particular the usual threats against the by-standers<sup>139</sup> suggest strongly the pugnacious attitude in which the chorus enters in the Acharnians, Knights and Wasps. Again, the chorus in the Acharnians is hunting for the missing culprit just as the slave is always looking for his master or the parasite for his patron.<sup>140</sup> The slave is always in a hurry, just like the chorus in the Wasps,<sup>141</sup> and, like the chorus in the

<sup>139</sup> E.g., Plaut. Capt. 791 ff, Curc. 280 ff, Stich. 285 ff, Amph. 984-985.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Achar. 204-205

τῇδε πᾶς ἐποῦ, διοκε, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πυνθάνου  
τὸν δδοιπόρων ἀπάντων.

and Plaut. Merc. 128

domin an foris dicam esse e rum Charinum?

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Wasps 230

χώρει, πρόβαν' ἐρρωμένως. ὁ Κωμία, βραδίνεις;

and Plaut. Merc. 13

abige abs te lassitudinem, cave pigritiae praevorteris.

Acharnians, often complains of weariness and exhaustion.<sup>142</sup> At least this type of comic soliloquy, accordingly, betrays some of the common features of the *πάροδος*.<sup>143</sup>

The *στάσιμα* of Old Comedy, being in the nature of interludes, were generally replaced in New by the choral interludes, referred to as *κῶμοι* in the fragments, that filled the breaks in the action at points such as those where often *χοροῦ* now occurs in the text. But some soliloquies of comic or rhetorical character may also well represent the old *στάσιμον*. For example, the rhetorical character of the soliloquy in Plaut. Pseud. 574 ff lends plausibility to Conrad's suggestion<sup>144</sup> that the *tibicen* of line 573a merely played a prelude to Pseudolus' monody, and that the real interlude was the monody itself, not the instrumental solo. Again, Leo points out<sup>145</sup> that the parasite's monologue in Capt. 461-497, standing as it does between his previous exit at line 191 and his immediate exit again at line 497, and consisting entirely of incidental comedy that does nothing to forward the plot, partakes largely of the nature of an interlude. He makes the same suggestion also in regard to the soliloquy of *puer id.* 909 ff, which ends, as lines 461 ff begin, an act of the play.<sup>146</sup> Other possible examples might be added: the soliloquy of the parasite in Men. 446 ff, of the dutiful slave in Aul. 587 ff and Most. 858 ff, and a number of soliloquies of more general moralizing<sup>147</sup> and monodies of more general comment.<sup>148</sup> All these examples satisfy the two tests that we should necessarily require to suggest that a soliloquy reproduces the effect of the old

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Achar. 219-220

νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ στέρρον ἥδη τούμον ἀντικῆμα  
καὶ παλαιῷ Λακρατεῖδῃ τὸ σκέλος βαρίνεται.

and Plaut. Merc. 123-124

genua hunc cursorem deserunt;  
perii, seditionem facit lien, occupat praecordia.

<sup>143</sup> Of the apparent *πάροδος* in Rud. 290 ff we have spoken on p. 25.

<sup>144</sup> Technique of Continuous Action, etc., p. 79.

<sup>145</sup> Der Monolog, p. 59.

<sup>146</sup> It should be remembered that Leo is bent upon showing wherever he can that the acts begin or end or both with a monologue of one type or another, so that most of his examples could not possibly be regarded as descended from the *στάσιμα* of Old Comedy.

<sup>147</sup> E.g., Merc. 817 ff, Pers. 449 ff.

<sup>148</sup> E.g., Bacc. 1076 ff, Cist. 203 ff.

*στάσιμον*: first, in respect to position, they occur at a break in the action, *i.e.*, at the beginning or end of an act; second, in respect to content, they are either general or incidental, never an integral part of the structure of the play.

But it is the parabasis of Old Comedy that is most fully reproduced in the soliloquies of New, especially of course in what we have called soliloquies of moralizing. There is in Plautus one soliloquy, *i.e.*, Curc. 462-486, that we might almost call a parabasis, just as we have called Rud. 290 ff a *πάροδος*. It is delivered in the middle of the play by the *choragus*, who is not an actor at all, and consists entirely of general comment without the slightest connection with the play. But because of its purely Roman content, and because in its local allusions anachronisms have been suspected, its authenticity has been called into serious question.<sup>149</sup> It is therefore unsafe for us to use it as an example, but fortunately, as will soon appear, we do not really need it.

The typical feature of the parabasis was the direct address to the audience by the chorus, which for the moment laid aside their rôle in the play and became merely the mouthpiece of the poet.<sup>150</sup> We should therefore expect to find in soliloquies descended from the parabasis these two features: first, direct address to the audience (which of itself is no more than we have observed in soliloquies of other types); second, either some general topic not particularly if at all connected with the plot or situation of the play, or else allusion within the play to the play itself, since the poet in the parabasis may speak as freely of the play in which the parabasis occurs as of any other subject. To consider the latter first, the plea for the spectators' favor, which, while it is found elsewhere in Old Comedy, is most characteristic of the parabasis,<sup>151</sup> we find represented in New Comedy, not to mention the prologues of Plautus, in the monologue of "Αγνο:α in Menander *Περικ.* 50-51, and in the address to the spectators

<sup>149</sup> Its authenticity is denied by H. Jordan in *Hermes* 1880, pp. 116 ff, but defended by G. Friedrich in *Jahrb. Klass. Phil.* 1891, pp. 708 ff.

<sup>150</sup> On the question of the costume of the chorus during the parabasis see Poppelreuter, *De comoediae Atticae primordiis particulae duae* (Diss. Berlin, 1893), pp. 34 ff.

<sup>151</sup> E.g., *Clouds* 518 ff.

which is so common at the end of Plautus's plays,<sup>152</sup> and is found also in Menander 887. Discussion of the comic art such as we have in the parabasis of the Knights and of the Clouds we find in fragment 191 of Antiphanes, of which we have already spoken,<sup>153</sup> also in Antiphanes 209. The nearest parallels to this in Plautus are Bacc. 213-215,<sup>154</sup> which, however, occur in dialogue, and such dramatic allusions as Merc. 3-5<sup>155</sup> and the references to the running slave,<sup>156</sup> most of which occur in soliloquies. The general license that allows a character at any time to step out of the play to speak for the moment merely as an actor<sup>157</sup> is of course not due to the parabasis of Old Comedy any more than to its general freedom in that respect.<sup>158</sup>

To pass now to soliloquies that represent the old parabasis of more general philosophical character, we find among the comic fragments praise of philosophy<sup>159</sup> and attacks on it.<sup>160</sup> More commonly we find various particular philosophical and moral *τόποι* elaborated: so the uncertainty of human life in Antiphanes 204,<sup>161</sup> the inconsistency of human nature in Philemon 89, the discontent of mankind in Alexis 141, their slavery to toil in Philemon 88, or to law and custom in Philemon 93, or to the needless complications with which they involve their lives in Menander 534.<sup>162</sup> Some of these fragments are very fine; most moving of all, perhaps, is Menander 223, on the theme of virtue

<sup>152</sup> E.g., Amphitruo's closing speech, *Amph.* 1144-1146.

<sup>153</sup> See footnote 121.

<sup>154</sup> Non res sed actor mihi cor odio sauciatur;  
etiam Epidicum, quam ego fabulam aequae ac me ipsum amo,—  
nullum aequae invitus specto, si agit Pellio.

<sup>155</sup> See footnote 89.

<sup>156</sup> See footnote 62.

<sup>157</sup> E.g., *Cas.* 1006, *Merc.* 1007, *Pseud.* 388, 720-721, and especially *Merc.*

<sup>160</sup> 160 dormientis spectatores metuis ne ex somno excites?

<sup>158</sup> Besides the monologues cited in footnote 136, cf. *Peace* 962 ff.

<sup>159</sup> E.g., *ἀδέσποτα* 104 (which is proved to be a soliloquy by lines 1-2)

*κρητικά μὲν ἔστι κονκά ἀκούσεται.*

*οὐδεὶς παρών μοῦ τῶν λόγων ὃν ἀν λέγω.*

<sup>161</sup> E.g., Antiphanes 122, Philemon 71 and Alexis 36 (directed particularly against Aristippus).

<sup>162</sup> Cf. the parabasis of the Birds.

<sup>162</sup> More examples are given in Section VII.

unrewarded. To emphasize still more the fact that all such soliloquies are general and topical, not dramatic, the contrast is eloquent between the fragment of Menander (74) on the text

Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown,

and the soliloquy, ending with that famous line, of the king in Shakespeare's Henry IV, Part II, on the same theme.<sup>163</sup>

The parabasis of Old Comedy dealt perhaps still more often with political and social topics than with such themes as we have just been enumerating. Indeed, the discussion of philosophy and morality in New Comedy was no doubt largely by way of compensation for the abandonment of free personal invective and the general loss of interest in politics.<sup>164</sup> But social subjects remained as available as ever and gradually took up more and more attention. One general feature of this type of parabasis is likewise a common feature of the comic or moralizing soliloquy that took its place, *i.e.*, the praise of one's self<sup>165</sup> and the denunciation of those of whom one disapproves.<sup>166</sup> Some examples of this type of soliloquy we have already cited.<sup>167</sup> In addition, we may cite the frequent attacks in the comic fragments on the fish-sellers,<sup>168</sup> which are paralleled in Plautus only by Capt. 813 ff. Plautus, however, has corresponding attacks, perhaps inserted from Greek models for his Roman audience, on bakers and butchers.<sup>169</sup> The attack on the bankers in Antiphanes 159 is represented in Plautus by two comic soliloquies put into the

<sup>163</sup> Menander 74 begins:

ὦ τρισάθλιοι,  
τι πλέον ἔχουσι τῶν ἀλλων;

In Henry IV, Part 2, Act 3, Scene 1, the king begins:  
How many thousands of my poorest subjects  
Are at this hour asleep!

<sup>164</sup> See Legrand-Loeb, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>165</sup> E.g., Arist. Thes. 785.

\*Cf. the soliloquies of cook and parasite listed in footnotes 34 and 36.

<sup>166</sup> Not to mention the typical parabasis of Aristophanes, cf. Birds 1076 ff with the parasite's edicts in Plaut. Capt. 803 ff and his threats in Cura. 288 ff.

<sup>167</sup> See pp. 7-8.

<sup>168</sup> Antiphanes 166, 161, Alexis 16, 125-126, Diphilus 33, Xenarchus 7.

<sup>169</sup> Capt. 807 ff and 818 ff respectively; cf. also the allusions to the grain-dealers in dialogue in Pseud. 188 ff.

mouth of a *trapezita*.<sup>170</sup> Thirdly, to the attacks on the *hetaerae* in the comic fragments<sup>171</sup> correspond the soliloquy in Plaut. Truc. 22 ff, and that in Poen. 823 ff directed against *lenones*. Again, in Trin. 199 ff there is a similar soliloquy attacking the *scurrae*, which is probably due at least partly to Roman influence. Finally, the *laudatio temporis acti* in the slave's soliloquy in Trin. 1028 ff, like the conversation of the *paedagogus* in Bacc. 419 ff, in particular is strongly reminiscent of the whole spirit of Aristophanes (which he indulged especially in the parabasis), which was transmitted as one of the inheritances of Old Comedy to New.<sup>172</sup>

<sup>170</sup> Cura. 371 ff and Most. 532 ff; cf. also the allusions in Pers. 434 ff and Pseud. 296 ff.

<sup>171</sup> Alexis 98, Epicrates 2-3, Xenarchus 4.

<sup>172</sup> See E. Fraenkel, De media et nova comoedia quaestiones selectae, Chapter III a, De parasitorum aliorumque orationibus quae ex antiquae comoediae parabasi in medium novamque fluxerunt.

## VII. OUTSIDE INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOLILOQUY.

We have seen that the structurally useful soliloquy shows a clear course of development entirely due to internal, or at any rate purely dramatic, influences. But it is not difficult to perceive that, to aid the development of the structurally useless types of soliloquy that we have just been discussing, besides all possible influence from Old Comedy, certain external influences were at work on New Comedy. These influences have been studied exhaustively in connection with the elegy and the epigram and their relation to New Comedy,<sup>173</sup> so that it will suffice to indicate here how they operated particularly upon the soliloquy.

We need scarcely say more to emphasize how the soliloquy acted as a convenient vehicle for the influence exerted upon comedy by philosophy.<sup>174</sup> The chief outside influence was of course the common rhetoric that underlay all the different literary genres. Illustrations are almost innumerable; for example, not to mention the Characters of Theophrastus, which may even have been based immediately on New Comedy, the soliloquy in Plaut. *Truc.* 98 ff is a working-up in a different genre of the same material that we find in the second mime of Herondas. This same poem, moreover, illustrates the special influence of oratory and the rhetoric of the courts, which, already visible in the *δικανικοὶ λόγοι* of Euripides, appears in New Comedy in the opening scene of Menander's *'Επιτρέποντες* and in the trial of Love in the soliloquy in Plaut. *Trin.* 223 ff. Perhaps the best instance of the operation of this common rhetoric is the similar treatment of the theme of love in the various genres.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>173</sup> See Reitzenstein in Pauly-Wissowa on Epigram and Crusius *ibid.* on Elegy.

<sup>174</sup> See Pohlenz, Die hellenistische Poesie und die Philosophie, in *Xápires* to Leo, pp. 76 ff.

Leo gives examples of philosophical *rōtοι* from Latin comedy in *Der Monolog*, pp. 76-78.

<sup>175</sup> See footnote 25.

The intensive study of this subject all springs from Leo, Plaut. *Forsch.*, pp. 126 ff. *E.g.*, see Hölzer, *De poesie amatoria a comicis exulta ab elegiacis imitatione expressa* (Diss. Marburg, 1899), and Wheeler in *Class. Phil.* 1910, pp. 440 ff and *id.* 1911, pp. 56 ff.

So far as specifically concerns the soliloquy, the influence of rhetoric is manifested in various ways. In the first place, we find the elaborate working out of a simile<sup>176</sup> in several soliloquies in Plautus,<sup>177</sup> while in Menander 536 the speaker complains that he can find no adequate simile for love. In the second place, many soliloquies represent the common rhetorical types, especially the *έγκώμιον* (*laudatio*) and the *ψόγος* (*vituperatio*).<sup>178</sup> So we find *έγκώμια* of solitude, of peace, and of poverty.<sup>179</sup> To compensate for the attacks on the *hetaerae* mentioned above, we find Philemon praising Solon for establishing them in the state by law.<sup>180</sup> Similar praise of individuals is found in Alexis's commendation of Solon and Aristonicus for laws against the fish-sellers.<sup>181</sup> Still more important is the *έγκώμιον* of the simple life, particularly country life,<sup>182</sup> which sometimes takes an ironical form, as in Philemon 98.

The soliloquy in the form of *ψόγος* likewise embraces a variety of topics. The typical *ψόγοι* of marriage, philosophy and love we have already referred to.<sup>183</sup> We find also the *ψόγος* of wealth and money,<sup>184</sup> of poverty,<sup>185</sup> of old age,<sup>186</sup> and of war.<sup>187</sup> Other

<sup>176</sup> *I.e.*, the type of *προγύμνασμα* called *σύγκρισις* (*comparatio*).

<sup>177</sup> *E.g.*, Bacc. 925 ff, Most. 84 ff, Pseud. 574 ff.

<sup>178</sup> This suggests that many soliloquies that we have not actually classified as topical-rhetorical might no doubt, containing as they do so large a rhetorical element, be regarded as *προγύμνασμα* and classified accordingly, just as legitimately as the more striking examples that we have so classified.

The types of *προγύμνασμα* are conveniently defined in Westermann, *Geschichte der Beredsamkeit* (Leipzig, 1833), Vol. I, pp. 265-266; see also G. Reichel, *Quaestiones pro gymnasmatice* (Diss. Leipzig, 1909).

<sup>179</sup> Menander 466, Philemon 71, Philemon 92 respectively.

<sup>180</sup> Philemon 4; cf. Propertius 3, 17 (Müller).

<sup>181</sup> Alexis 125-126. See footnote 168. Cf. also the allusion to Solon in Plaut. *Asin.* 599.

<sup>182</sup> *E.g.*, Philemon 105, Amphis 17.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. Theoc. 7; Hor. *Epop.* 2; Tib. 1, 1; 1, 10; 2, 1; 2, 3; Prop. 3, 8; 4, 12 (Müller). See W. Meyer, *Laudes inopiae* (Diss. Göttingen, 1916).

<sup>184</sup> See footnotes 22, 23; 159; 25 respectively.

<sup>185</sup> *E.g.*, Menander 537 and Philemon 92; cf. Propertius 4, 6 (Müller).

<sup>186</sup> *E.g.*, Menander 404, from the *Πλάκων*, in which the situation is similar to that in Plautus's *Aulularia*.

<sup>187</sup> *E.g.*, Antiphanes 94, Menander 552, 555, Plaut. *Men.* 758 ff.

<sup>188</sup> *E.g.*, Apollodorus *Carystius* 5.

rhetorical types represented in soliloquies are the *controversia*, e.g., Plaut. Trin. 223 ff, and the *παρακλανσιθυρον*.<sup>188</sup> Finally, we find soliloquies in which a *ψόγος* begins with some such common rhetorical *τόπος* as the *pereat qui primus* sentiment of Eubulus 41 in regard to the painters of Love,<sup>189</sup> and of Menander 154 directed against the "inventor" of marriage, these much like the *ψόγοι* in condemnation of the greatest of all inventors, Prometheus, for making men inconsistent and for making women at all.<sup>190</sup>

<sup>188</sup> E.g., Arist. Eccl. 960 ff and Plaut. Curc. 147-154.

Cf. Theoc. 7, 122 ff; Catul. 67; Hor. Od. 3, 10; Prop. 1, 16, 17-42; 2, 17 (Müller); Ov. Amor. 1, 6; 1, 9, 8 ff.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Propertius 3, 3 (Müller).

<sup>190</sup> Philemon 89 and Menander 535 respectively.

### VIII. THE RELATION BETWEEN SOLILOQUY AND METER.

It is futile to attempt any inference from the meter of soliloquies, although one is tempted to make the effort because of the obvious choral origin of certain types of soliloquy. We see, as soon as we begin to examine the soliloquies from the point of view of meter, that Plautus used all sorts of meters for all sorts of soliloquies. For every soliloquy representing a choral element, whether from parabasis, *στάσιμα* or *πάροδος*, that is cast in the form of a monody, and thereby seems to reveal its descent from the chorus in meter as well as in substance, we can find another soliloquy similar in every respect save that its meter is the ordinary trimeter or senarius. If, therefore, there be any principles determining the relation between form and content in Plautine comedy—which is dubious at best,—in any case they can be no different for monologue from whatever they may be for dialogue.<sup>191</sup>

All we can say is that in New Comedy there are soliloquies not only in the ordinary trimeter, but in the only other meter that we know was used in New Comedy, i.e., trochaic tetrameter.<sup>192</sup> The same is the case for Middle Comedy.<sup>193</sup> We know also that Plautus restored the monody and the duet, or lyric dialogue, which had been discarded in New Comedy, at least so far as it is represented by extant fragments, although in several fragments of Middle Comedy we find traces of its existence.<sup>194</sup> Whether he was herein influenced by Euripides,<sup>195</sup> by Old Comedy,<sup>196</sup> or by the Alexandrian mime,<sup>197</sup> we can not tell, and it

<sup>191</sup> On this general subject see Leo, *Die plautinischen Cantica und die hellenistische Lyrik* (Berlin, 1897).

<sup>192</sup> E.g., Men. Πέρικ. 110-114, 121-195; Σαμ. 203-210, 337 ff.

<sup>193</sup> Alexis 98 and Anaxilas 22 are in trochaic tetrameter.

<sup>194</sup> E.g., Anaxandrides 41 and Mnesimachus 4 are monodies, while Epicrates 11 is a duet.

<sup>195</sup> Monodies in Euripides that are also soliloquies are, e.g., Troi. 98 ff and Ion 82 ff.

<sup>196</sup> Arist. Eccl. 938 ff is a soliloquy in the form of a monody, which combines with the asides to make a duet.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. the song in Theoc. 15, 100 ff.

does not matter.<sup>198</sup> For while we find many monodies in Plautus that are also soliloquies,<sup>199</sup> we find, beside the lyric duets, many monodies that are not soliloquies. Further consideration of meter is therefore not germane to this study.

<sup>198</sup> Terence stands in respect to freedom of meter midway between New Comedy and Plautus.

<sup>199</sup> Examples are Amph. 633 ff, Capt. 498 ff, Cas. 937 ff, Epid. 81 ff, Men. 571 ff, Most. 84 ff, Pseud. 1246 ff, Trin. 223 ff.

Even these few examples represent six different types of soliloquy.

## APPENDIX.

TABLE I: SOLILOQUIES IN PLAUTUS.

In the first column the soliloquies are denoted by line; in the second the speakers are indicated. The third column indicates the content. Where a soliloquy seemed clearly to contain more than one element but also to belong predominantly to some one class, the minor element is indicated in parenthesis, but the soliloquy is not considered mixed. It is from the third column that the statistical summaries at the end of the table have been drawn up.

A few very short, unimportant soliloquies have not been included in the table.

Amph.	153- 292	Slave	Exposition (comedy)
	463- 498	Mercury	Announcement
	633- 653	Alcumena	Character (comment)
	861- 881	Jupiter	Announcement
	882- 890	Alcumena	Character
	974- 983	Jupiter	Comment
	984-1005	Mercury	Comedy (announcement)
	1009-1020	Amphitruo	Development
	1053-1075	Slave	"
Asin.	249- 266	"	Deliberation
Aul.	67- 78	"	Exposition
	105- 119	Senex	Character
	371- 389	"	"
	406- 414	Cook	Comedy
	460- 474	Senex	Character
	475- 535	"	Moralizing
	580- 586	"	Announcement
	587- 607	Slave	Moralizing; development
	608- 615	Senex	Development

## APPENDIX.

	616- 623	Slave	Announcement
	661- 666	"	Comment
	667- 676	Senex	Announcement
	677- 681	Slave	"
	701- 712	"	Development
	713- 726	Senex	Comedy
Bacc.	170- 177	Slave	Exposition
	349- 367	"	Comment
	368- 384	Paedag.	Announcement (comment)
	385- 404	Adulesc.	Moralizing (comment)
	500- 525	"	Announcement; comment
	612- 624	"	Comment
	649- 666	Slave	"
	761- 769	"	Announcement
	925- 978	"	Topical-rhetorical
	1076-1086	Senex	Comment
	1087-1103	"	" (development)
Capt.	69- 109	Parasite	Exposition; comedy
	461- 497	"	Comedy
	498- 515	Senex	Development
	516- 531	Slave	Comment
	768- 780	Parasite	Comedy (announcement)
	781- 789	Senex	Comment
	790- 828	Parasite	Comedy
	901- 908	Parasite	"
	909- 921	Puer	"
Cas.	217- 227	Senex	Comment
	424- 436	Slave	"
	502- 514	"	"
	531- 538	Matrona	"
	549- 557	Senex	"
	558- 562	Matrona	"
	563- 573	Senex	"
	759- 779	Slave	Development
	875- 891	"	"
	937- 960	Senex	Comment

## APPENDIX.

Cist.	120- 148	Lena	Exposition
	203- 228	Adulesc.	Comment
	536- 542	Slave	"
	671- 703	"	Comedy
Curc.	96- 109	Lena	"
	216- 222	Leno	Comment
	280- 298	Parasite	Comedy
	371- 383	Trapezita	"
	462- 486	Choragus	Anomalous
	591- 598	Parasite	Development
	679- 686	Leno	"
Epid.	81- 103	Slave	Exposition; deliberation
	158- 165	"	Announcement
	306- 319	"	"
	382- 395	Senex	Comment
	517- 525	"	"
	526- 536	Mulier	" (exposition)
Men.	77- 109	Parasite	Comedy
	446- 465	"	" ; development
	571- 601	Adulesc.	Moralizing; development
	753- 774	Senex	Development (moralizing)
	882- 888	"	"
	899- 908	Adulesc.	"
	957- 965	"	Comment
	966- 989	Slave	Moralizing
	1039-1049	Adulesc.	Comment
Merc.	1- 110	"	Prologue
	111- 129	Slave	Comedy
	225- 271	Senex	Anomalous (development)
	328- 334	"	Deliberation
	335- 363	Adulesc.	Development
	544- 561	Senex	Comment (moralizing)
	588- 600	Adulesc.	"
	661- 666	"	Announcement

## APPENDIX.

	667- 671	Matrona	Development
	692- 699	Senex	"
	700- 704	Matrona	Comment
	792- 799	Senex	Development
	817- 829	Slave	Moralizing
	830- 863	2 adul.	Anomalous (announcement and development)
Mil.	79- 155	Slave	Prologue
	200- 215	Senex	Comment
	259- 271	Slave	Deliberation
	305- 312	"	Development
	345- 353	"	"
	586- 595	Adulesc.	Comment
	867- 873	Slave	"
	1284-1295	Adulesc.	"
Most.	84- 156	"	Topical-rhetorical
	348- 362	Slave	Exposition; comedy
	431- 444	Senex	Development
	536- 546	Slave	"
	690- 710	Senex	Comedy
	775- 782	Slave	Comment
	858- 884	"	Moralizing
	993- 998	Senex	Comment
	1041-1061	Slave	Development
	1122-1127	Adulesc.	"
Pers.	1- 6	Slave	Exposition
	7- 12	"	Comment
	53- 80	Parasite	Comedy
	251- 271	Slave	Development (announcement)
	449- 457	"	Comment (moralizing)
	470- 479	Leno	"
	753- 762	Slave	(development)
	777- 787	Leno	"

## APPENDIX.

Poen.	449- 469	Leno	Comedy
	817- 822	Slave	Comment
	823- 844	"	" ; moralizing
	917- 929	Slave	Comment
	930- 949	Senex	Anomalous
	956- 960	"	Development
	1280-1291	Miles	"
Pseud.	394- 408	Slave	Comment
	562- 573	"	"
	574- 593	"	(topical-rhetorical)
	667- 691	"	" ; moralizing
	758- 766	"	"
	767- 787	Puer	"
	892- 904	Leno	"
	905- 910	Slave	"
	1017-1036	"	"
	1052-1062	Leno	"
	1103-1123	Slave	Moralizing; development
	1238-1245	Senex	Announcement
	1246-1283	Slave	Comedy
Rud.	83- 88	"	Exposition
	185- 219	Mulier	"
	220- 227	Slave	"
	306- 309	"	"
	424- 330	"	"
	403- 413	"	Comment
	440- 457	"	Announcement
	458- 484	"	Comedy
	485- 491	Leno	Comment
	559- 562	Slave	Development
	584- 592	Senex	Comment
	593- 612	"	Anomalous
	615- 626	Slave	Development
	886- 891	Senex	Comment

## APPENDIX.

	892- 905	Senex	Development (comment)
	906- 937	Slave	" ; character; comedy; moralizing
	1184-1190	"	Comment
	1191-1204	Senex	"
	1258-1264	"	Moralizing
	1281-1287	Leno	Development
Stich.	75- 87	Senex	Deliberation
	155- 233	Parasite	Comedy
	274- 308	Puer	"
	454- 463	Parasite	Comment
	497- 504	"	"
	632- 640	"	Comedy
	641- 648	Slave	Development
	649- 654	"	"
	673- 682	"	"
Trin.	23- 38	Senex	Moralizing
	199- 222	"	"
	223- 275	Adulescens	Topical-rhetorical; delibera- tion; character; moralizing
	392- 399	Senex	Comment
	591- 601	Slave	"
	718- 728	"	Comedy (comment)
	820- 842	Senex	Comment
	843- 867	Sycophant	Development
	998-1007	Senex	Comment
	1008-1059	Slave	Comedy; moralizing
	1115-1124	Adulescens	Comment
Truc.	22- 94	"	Exposition; moralizing
	98- 112	Slave	Moralizing
	209- 254	"	" (comment)
	315- 321	"	Comment
	335- 351	Adulescens	"
	434- 447	"	" ; announcement

## APPENDIX.

448- 475	Meretrix	Moralizing (comment)
482- 498	Miles	" (development)
553- 574	Slave	Comment
633- 644	Miles	"
645- 662	Adulescens	Development
699- 710	"	Comment

Play	1 Pro.	2 Exp.	3 Dev.	4 Ann.	5 Cmt.	6 Del.	7 Cha.	8 Mor.	9 Cmd.	10 T-r.	11 Mix.	12 Ano.	Tot.	% of lines.
Amph.....		1	2	2	1		2		1				9	26%
Asin.....						1							1	2%
Aul.....	1	2	4	1			3	1	2				15	26%
Bacc.....	1		2	5				1		1			11	18%
Capt.....		1		2					5				9	19%
Cas.....		2		8									10	13%
Cist.....	1			2					1				4	12%
Cure.....		2		1					3				7	13%
Epid.....			2	3							1		6	12%
Men.....		3		2					1	1			9	14%
Merc.....	1	4	1	3	1				1	1			2	31%
Mil.....	1	2		4	1								8	12%
Most.....		4		2					1				10	17%
Pers.....	1	1		5									8	12%
Poen.....		2		2					1				7	7%
Pseud.....			1	9									13	16%
Rud.....	5	4	1	6					1	1			20	18%
Stich.....	3			2	1					3			9	23%
Trin.....	1			5					2	1			11	20%
Truc.....		1		5					4				12	28%
Total.....	2	10	34	13	68	4	5	12	23	2	15	5	193	17%
Summary: Necessary.....														
Useful.....														
Not useful.....														

## APPENDIX.

Hec.	274- 279	Matrona	Character
	327- 335	Slave	Development
	361- 414	Adulescens	"
	444- 449	"	Comment
	510- 515	Senex	"
	516- 520	Matrona	"
	566- 576	"	Development
	799- 806	Slave	"
	816- 840	Meretrix	"

Adel.	26- 77	Senex	Exposition; moralizing; character
	141- 154	"	Comment
	196- 208	Leno	"
	254- 259	Adulescens	"
	299- 320	Slave	Development
	355- 360	Senex	Comment
	610- 633	Adulescens	Development
	713- 718	Senex	"
	757- 762	"	Comment
	855- 881	"	Moralizing; comment; announcement

Play	1 Pro.	2 Exp.	3 Dev.	4 Ann.	5 Cmt.	6 Del.	7 Cha.	8 Mor.	9 Cmd.	10 T-r	11 Mix.	12 Ano.	Tot.	% of lines.
And.....		1			1	1		1					4	8%
Heaut.....					7	1	1						9	7%
Eun.....	1	6			3				1				11	14%
Phor.....	1	3			5								9	9%
Hec.....		5			3		1						9	15%
Adel.....		3			5					2			10	18%
Total.....	0	3	17	0	24	2	2	1	1	0	2	0	52	12%
Summary: Necessary.....													22	
Useful.....													4	
Not useful.....													26	
													52	

## APPENDIX.

Character:														
Senex.....		1						10		1	1			
Adulescens		7						8		1				
Slave .....	2	5						4	1		1			
Parasite.....		2												
Mulier.....		1							1					
Leno.....								1						
Miles.....		1	1											
Total.....	3	17	0	24	2	2	1	1					2	52

TABLE III: SOLILOQUIES IN MENANDER.

'Επιτ.	165- 167	Slave	Comment
	199- 201	"	"
	202- 212	"	Development
	214- 224	Meretrix	"
	218- 225	Slave	Deliberation
	340- 365	"	Comment; character
	366 ff	Senex	Fragmentary: = development?
	391 ff	Cook	Fragmentary: = comment?
Fab. Inc.	II 1-15*	Senex	Development
	36 ff	Slave	Moralizing
	410 ff	Senex	Fragmentary: = announcement?
Frag.	566*	Slave	Development
	457- 486	"	"
	487 ff	Adulescens	Character
	522- 537	Senex	Comment
Περικ.	52- 60	Slave	Development
	64- 70	"	Comment
	110- 114	Adulescens	Character
	121- 125	"	Deliberation
	208 ff	Miles	Comment
	276 ff	Adulescens	Development
	407- 411	Miles	Comment

\* To get the benefit of the evidence they supply, we have left these fragments in the table at the places where Capps (Four Plays of Menander) incorporated them into his text, though he is not followed therein by Körte. We have also accepted Capps's assignment of characters.

## APPENDIX.

Σαμ.	1- 64	Senex	Development
	65- 67	"	Comment
	83- 86	"	Character
	110- 141	"	" ; deliberation
	145- 153	Cook	Comment
	184- 191	Senex	"
	204- 211	"	Development
	219- 222	"	Comment
	269- 270	"	"
	271- 295	Adulescens	Announcement
	296- 312	Slave	Comment
	337 ff	Adulescens	Deliberation

Play	<sup>3</sup> Dev.	<sup>4</sup> Ann.	<sup>5</sup> Cmt.	<sup>6</sup> Del.	<sup>7</sup> Cha.	<sup>8</sup> Mor.	<sup>11</sup> Mix.	(Fr- ag.)	Tot.	% of lines.
Ἐπιτ.	5+1? = 6	1?	3+1? = 4	1	1	1	1	(3)	15	30%
Περικ.	2		3	1	1				7	15%
Σαμ.	2	1	6	1	1		1		12	50%
Total.....	9+1? = 10	1+1? = 2	12+1? = 13	3	3	1	2	(3)	34	
Character:										
Senex....	3+1? = 4	1?	5		1		1		12	35%
Adul....	1	1		2	2				6	18%
Slave....	4		4	1		1	1		11	50%
Meret....	1								1	
Cook....			1+1? = 2						2	
Miles....			2						2	
Total.....	9+1? = 10	1+1? = 2	12+1? = 13	3	3	1	2		34	

Summary: Necessary.....	12
Useful.....	6
Not useful.....	16
	34

TABLE IV: SOLILOQUIES IN ARISTOPHANES.

Achar.	1- 39	Dicaeopolis	Exposition
	480- 489	"	Comment
Clouds	1- 79	Strepsiades	Exposition
	627- 632	Socrates	Comment
Lys.	1- 4	Lysistrata	Exposition
	973- 979	Cinesias	Comment

## APPENDIX.

Eccl.	1- 29	Praxagora	Exposition
	311- 326	Blepyrus	Development
	746- 752	ἀνήρ	Deliberation
	877- 883	γραῦς	Development
	938- 948	νεανίας	Comment

Plut.	1- 17	Carion	Exposition
	802- 822	"	Development

Play.	<sup>2</sup> Exp.	<sup>3</sup> Dev.	<sup>5</sup> Cmt.	<sup>6</sup> Del.	Total.
Achar.....	I		I		2
Clouds.....	I		I		2
Lys.....	I		I		2
Eccl.....	I	2	I	I	5
Plut.....	I	I			2
Total.....	5	3	4	I	13

